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*John Dryden*



T H E  
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF  
JOHN DRYDEN.

**T**HIS illustrious poet was son of Erasmus Dryden, of Ticker-mish, in Northamptonshire; and born at Aldwinch, near Oundle, in 1631<sup>a</sup>. He had his education in grammar-learning at Westminster-school, under the famous Dr. Busby; and was from thence elected, in 1650, a scholar of Trinity College in Cambridge.

<sup>a</sup> Athen. Oxon.

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We have no account of any extraordinary indications of genius given by this great poet while in his earlier days; and he is one instance how little regard is to be paid to the figure a boy makes at school. Mr. Dryden was turned of thirty before he introduced any play upon the stage; and his first, called *The Wild Gallants*, met with a very indifferent reception; so that, if he had not been impelled, by the force of genius and propension, he had never again attempted the stage.—A circumstance which the lovers of dramatic poetry must ever have regretted, as they would, in this case, have been deprived of one of the greatest ornaments that ever adorned the profession.

The year before he left the university, he wrote a poem on the death of lord Hallings: “A performance,” say some of his critics, “very unworthy of himself, and of the astonishing genius he afterwards discovered.”

That Mr. Dryden had, at this time, no fixed principles, either in religion or politics, is abundantly evident from his heroic stanzas on Oliver Cromwell, written after his funeral in 1658; and immediately upon the restoration he published *Astræa Redux*, a poem on the happy restoration of Charles the Second; and the same year, his Panegyric to the king on his coronation. In the former of these pieces, a remarkable distich has exposed our poet to the ridicule of the wits.

An horrid stillness first invades the ear,  
And in that silence we the tempest hear.

Which, it must be owned, is downright nonsense, and a contradiction in terms.— Amongst others, captain Radcliff has ridiculed this blunder in the following lines of his *News from Hell*.

Laureat, who was both learn'd and florid,  
Was damn'd long since for silence horrid;  
Nor had there been such clutter made,  
But that his silence did invade.  
Invade, and so it might, that's clear;  
But what did it invade? An ear!

In 1662, he addressed a poem to the lord-chancellor Hyde, presented on New Year's Day; and, the same year, published a satire on the Dutch. His next piece was his *Annus Mirabilis*, or, *The Year of Wonders*, 1668; an historical poem, which celebrated the duke of York's victory over the Dutch. In the same year, Mr. Dryden succeeded Sir William Davenant as poet-laureat, and was also made historiographer to his majesty; and that year published his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry*, addressed to Charles earl of Dorset and Middlesex.

Mr. Dryden tells his patron, that the writing this essay served as an amusement to him in the country, when he was driven from town by

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the violence of the plague, which then raged in London; and he diverted himself with thinking on the theatres, as lovers do by ruminating on their absent mistresses. He there justifies the method of writing plays in verse, but confesses that he had quitted the practice, because he found it troublesome and slow\*.

In the preface we are informed, that the drift of this discourse was to vindicate the honour of the English writers from the censure of those who unjustly prefer the French to them. Langbaine has injuriously treated Mr. Dryden on account of his dramatic performances, and charges him as a licentious plagiarist. The truth is, our author, as a dramatist, is less eminent than in any other sphere of poetry; but, with all his faults, he is, even in that respect, the most eminent of his time.

The critics have remarked, that, as to tragedy, he seldom touches the passions, but deals rather in pompous language, poetical flights, and descriptions; and too frequently makes his characters speak better than they have occasion, or ought to do, when their sphere in the drama is considered. "And it is peculiar to Dryden," says Mr. Addison, "to make his personages, as wise, witty, elegant, and polite as himself."

That he could not so intimately affect the passions, is certain; for we find no play of his in which we are much disposed to weep;

\* He might have added, 'twas unnatural.

and we are so enchanted with beautiful descriptions, and noble flights of fancy, that we forget the business of the play, and are only attentive to the poet, while the characters sleep. Mr. Gildon observes, in his laws of poetry, That, when it was recommended to Mr. Dryden to turn his thoughts to a translation of Euripides, rather than of Homer, he confessed that he had no relish for that poet, who was a great master of tragic simplicity. Mr. Gildon further observes, as a confirmation that Dryden's taste for tragedy was not of the genuine sort, that he constantly expressed great contempt for Otway, who is universally allowed to have succeeded very happily in affecting the tender passions. Yet Mr. Dryden, in his preface to the translation of M. Du Fresnoy, speaks more favourably of Otway; and, after mentioning these instances, Gildon ascribes this taste in Dryden to his having read many French romances.

The truth is, if a poet would affect the heart, he must not exceed nature too much, nor colour too high; distressful circumstances, short speeches, and pathetic observations, never fail to move infinitely beyond the highest rant, or long declamations, in tragedy. The simplicity of the drama was Otway's peculiar excellence. A living poet observes, that, from Otway to our own times,



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From bard to bard, the frigid caution crept,  
And declamation roar'd while passion slept.

Mr. Dryden seems to be sensible that he was not born to write comedy: "For," says he, "I want that gaiety of humour which is required in it; my conversation is slow and dull, my humour saturnine and reserved. In short, I am none of those who endeavour to break jests in company, and make repartees; so that those who decry my comedies do me no injury, except it be in point of profit: reputation in them is the last thing to which I shall pretend \*."

This ingenuous confession of inability, one would imagine were sufficient to silence the clamour of the critics against Mr. Dryden in that particular; but, however true it may be, that Dryden did not succeed to any degree in comedy, I shall endeavour to support my assertion, that, in tragedy, with all his faults, he is still the most excellent of his time. The end of tragedy is to instruct the mind, as well as move the passions; and, where there are no shining sentiments, the mind may be affected, but not improved; and, however prevalent the passion of grief may be over the heart of man, it is certain that he may feel

\* Defence, or the Essay on Dramatic Poetry.

distress in the acutest manner, and not be much the wiser for it.

The tragedies of Otway, Lee, and Southern, are irresistibly moving; but yet they convey not such grand sentiments, and their language is far from being so poetical, as Dryden's. Now, if one dramatic poet writes to move, and another to inchant and instruct, as instruction is of greater consequence than being agitated, it follows naturally, that the latter is the most excellent writer, and possesses the greatest genius.

But perhaps our poet would have wrote better in both kinds of the drama, had not the necessity of his circumstances obliged him to comply with the popular taste. He himself, in his dedication to the Spanish Fryar, insinuates as much.

“ I remember,” says he, “ some verses of my own Maximin and Almanzor, which cry vengeance upon me for their extravagance. All that I can say for those passages, which are, I hope, not many, is, that I knew they were bad when I wrote them. But I repent of them amongst my sins, and, if any of their fellows intrude by chance, into my present writings, I draw a veil over all these Dalilahs of the theatre; and am resolved, I will settle myself no reputation upon the applause of fools. 'Tis not that I am mortified to all ambition, but I scorn as much to take it from half-witted

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judges, as I should to raise an estate by cheating of bubbles.

“ Neither do I discommend the lofty stile in tragedy, which is naturally pompous and magnificent; but nothing is truly sublime that is not just and proper.”——He says, in another place, That his Spanish Fryar was given to the people, and that he never wrote any thing in the dramatic way, to please himself, but his All for Love.

In 1671, Mr. Dryden was publicly ridiculed on the stage, in the duke of Buckingham's comedy, called the Rehearsal, under the character of Bays. This character, we are informed, in the Key to the Rehearsal, was originally intended for Sir Robert Howard, under the name of Bilboa; but the representation being put a stop to, by the breaking out of the plague, in 1665, it was laid by for several years, and not exhibited on the stage till 1671; in which interval, Mr. Dryden being advanced to the laurel, the noble author changed the name of his poet from Bilboa to Bays; and made great alterations in his play, in order to ridicule several dramatic performances, that appeared since the first writing it.

Those of Mr. Dryden which fell under his grace's lash, were, the Wild Gallant, Tyrannic Love, the Conquest of Granada, Marriage A-la-Mode, and Love in a Nunnery.

Whatever

Whatever was extravagant, or too warmly expressed, or any way unnatural, the author has ridiculed by parody.

Mr. Dryden affected to despise the satire levelled at him in the *Rehearsal*, as appears from his dedication of the translation of *Juvenal* and *Perfius*; where, speaking of the many lampoons and libels that had been written against him, he says,

“ I answered not to the *Rehearsal*, because I knew the author sat to himself when he drew the picture, and was the very Bays of his own farce; because I also knew my betters were more concerned than I was in that satire; and, lastly, because Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnson, the main pillars of it, were two such languishing gentlemen in their conversation, that I could liken them to nothing but their own relations, those noble characters of men of wit and pleasure about town.”

In 1679, came out an *Essay on Satire*, said to be written jointly by Mr. Dryden and the earl of Mulgrave. This piece, which was handed about in manuscript, containing reflections on the duchess of Portsmouth and the earl of Rochester; who suspecting, as Wood says, Mr. Dryden to be the author, hired three ruffians to cudgel him in Wills's coffee-house, at eight o'clock at night. This short anecdote, I think, cannot be told without indignation: It proved Rochester was a malicious

coward, and, like other cowards, cruel and insolent ; his soul was incapable of any thing that approached towards generosity ; and, when his resentment was heated, he pursued revenge, and retained the most lasting hatred - he had always entertained a prejudice against Dryden from no other motive than envy, Dryden's plays met with success, and this was enough to fire the resentment of Rochester who was naturally envious.

In order to hurt the character, and shake the interest of this noble poet, he recommended Crown, an obscure man, to write a Masque for the court, which was Dryden's province, as poet-laureat, to perform. Crown in this succeeded ; but soon after, when his play, called the Conquest of Jerusalem, met with such extraordinary applause Rochester, jealous of his new favourite, not only abandoned him, but commenced, from that moment, his enemy.

The other person against whom this satire was levelled, was not superior in virtue to the former ; and, all the nation over, two better subjects for satire could not have been found, than lord Rochester and the duchess of Portsmouth. As for Rochester, he had not genius enough to enter the lists with Dryden, so he fell upon another method of revenge, and meanly hired bravoës to assault him.

In 1680, came out a translation of Ovid's Epistles in English verse, by several hands ; two of which were translated by Mr. Dryden, who

who also wrote the preface. In the year following, our author published *Abfalom and Achitophel*. It was first printed without his name, and is a severe satire against the contrivers and abettors of the opposition against king Charles II.

In the same year that *Abfalom and Achitophel* was published, the *Medal*, a satire, was likewise given to the public. This piece is aimed against sedition, and was occasioned by the striking of a medal on account of the indictment against the earl of Shaftsbury for high-treason, being found *ignoramus* by the grand jury, at the Old-Bailey: for which the whig party made great rejoicings by ringing of bells, bonfires, &c. in all parts of London. The poem is introduced in a very satirical epistle to the whigs, in which the author says,

“ I have one favour to desire of you at parting, that, when you think of answering our poem, you would employ the same pens against it, who have combated with so much success against *Abfalom and Achitophel*; for then you may assure yourselves of a clear victory without the least reply. Rail at me abundantly, and not break a custom to do it with wit. By this method you will gain a considerable point; which is, wholly to waive the answer of my arguments. If God has not blessed you with the talent of rhiming, make use of my poor stock and welcome; let your verses run upon my feet; and, for the utmost

refuge of notorious blockheads, reduced to the last extremity of sense, turn my own lines against me; and, in utter despair of my own satire, make me satirize myself."

The whole poem is a severe invective against the earl of Shaftsbury, who was uncle to that earl who wrote the *Characteristicks*. Mr. Elkanah Settle wrote an answer to this poem, entitled the *Medal Reversed*. However contemptible Settle was as a poet, yet such was the prevalence of parties at that time, that, for some years, he was Dryden's rival on the stage.

In 1682, came out his *Religio Laici*, or a *Layman's Faith*. This piece is intended as a defence of revealed religion, and the excellency and authority of the scriptures, as the only rule of faith and manners, against Deists, Papists, and Presbyterians. He acquaints us, in the preface, that it was written for an ingenious young gentleman, his friend, upon his translation of Father Simons's *Critical History of the Old Testament*, and that the style of it was epistolary.

In 1684, he published a translation of M. Maimbourg's *History of the League*, in which he was employed by the command of king Charles II. on account of the plain parallel between the troubles of France and those of Great-Britain. Upon the death of Charles II. he wrote his *Threnodia Augustalis*, a poem, sacred to the happy memory of that prince. Soon after the accession of James II. our au-

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thor turned Roman Catholic, and, by this extraordinary step, drew upon himself abundance of ridicule from wits of the opposite faction; and, in 1689, he wrote a Defence of the Papers, written by the late king, of blessed memory, found in his strong box.

Mr. Dryden, in the above-mentioned piece, takes occasion to vindicate the authority of the catholic church, in decreeing matters of faith, upon this principle, that the church is more visible than the scriptures, because the scriptures are seen by the church, and to abuse the reformation in England; which he affirms was erected on the foundation of lust, sacrilege, and usurpation. Dr. Stillingfleet hereupon answered Mr. Dryden, and treated him with some severity.

Another author affirms, That Mr. Dryden's tract is very light, in some places ridiculous; and observes, that his talent lay towards controversy no more in prose, than, by the Hind and Panther it appeared to do in verse. This poem of the Hind and Panther is a direct defence of the Romish church, in a dialogue between a Hind, which represents the church of Rome; and a Panther, which supports the character of the church of England. The first part of this poem consists most in general characters and narration; "which," says he, "I have endeavoured to raise, and give it the majestic turn of heroic poetry. The second being matter of dispute, and chiefly concern-

ing



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ing church authority, I was obliged to make as plain and perspicuous as possibly I could, yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, though I had not frequent occasion for the magnificence of verse. The third, which has more of the nature of domestic conversation, is, or ought to be, more free and familiar than the two former. There are in it two episodes, or fables, which are interwoven with the main design; so that they are properly parts of it, though they are also distinct stories of themselves. In both of these I have made use of the common places of satire, whether true or false, which are urged by the members of one church against the other."

Mr. Dryden speaks of his own conversion in the following terms :

But, gracious God, how well dost thou provide,

For erring judgments an unerring guide ;  
Thy throne is darkness, in th' abyss of light ;  
A blaze of glory that forbids the sight.

Oh ! teach me to believe thee thus concealed,  
And search no further than thyself revealed ;

But her alone for my director take  
Whom thou hast promis'd never to forsake !

My thoughtless youth was wing'd with vain  
desires ;

My manhood, long misled by wand'ring  
fires,

Follow'd

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Follow'd false lights ; and when their glimpse  
 was gone,  
 My pride struck out new sparkles of her own.  
 Such was I, such by nature still I am,  
 Be thine the glory, and be mine the shame ;  
 Good life be now my task, my doubts are  
 done \*.

This poem was attacked by Mr. Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, and Mr. Matthew Prior, who joined in writing the Hind and Panther, transversed to the Country Mouse, and City Mouse, Lond. 1678, 4to. In the preface to which, the author observes, That Mr. Dryden's poem naturally falls into ridicule ; and, that, in this burlesque, nothing is represented monstrous and unnatural, that is not equally so in the original. They afterwards remark, That they have this comfort under the severity of Mr. Dryden's satire, to see his abilities equally lessened with his opinion of them ; and that he could not be a fit champion against the Panther till he had laid aside his judgment.

Mr. Dryden is supposed to have been engaged in translating M. Varillas's History of Heresies, but to have dropped that design. This we learn from a passage in Burnet's reflections on the ninth book of the first volume of M. Varillas's History, being a reply to his answer,

I shall here give the picture the doctor has drawn of this noble poet ; which is, like a great many of the doctor's other characters, rather exhibited to please himself, than according to the true resemblance. The doctor says,

“ I have been informed from England, that a gentleman, who is famous both for poetry and several other things, has spent three months in translating M. Varillas's History ; but, as soon as my reflections appeared, he discontinued his labours, finding the credit of his author being gone. Now, if he thinks it is recovered by his answer, he will, perhaps, go on with his translation ; but this may be, for ought I know, as good an entertainment for him, as the conversation he has set on foot between the Hinds and Panthers, and all the rest of the animals, for whom M. Varillas may serve well enough as an author ; and this history, and that poem, are such extraordinary things of their kind, that it will be but suitable to see the author of the worst poem become the translator of the worst history that the age has produced. If his grace and his wit improve so proportionably, we shall hardly find, that he has gained much by the change he has made, from having no religion, to chuse one of the worst. It is true he had somewhat to sink from in matter of wit ; but, as for his morals, it is scarce possible for him to grow a worse man than he was. He has  
lately

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lately wreaked his malice on me for spoiling his three months labour; but in it he has done me all the honour a man can receive from him; which is, to be railed at by him. If I had ill-nature enough to prompt me to wish a very bad wish for him, it should be, that he would go and finish his translation. By that it will appear whether the English nation, which is the most competent judge of this matter, has, upon seeing this debate, pronounced in M. Varillas's favour or me. It is true, Mr. Dryden will suffer a little by it; but, at least, it will serve to keep him in from other extravagancies; and, if he gains little honour by this work, yet he cannot lose so much by it as he has done by his last employment."

When the revolution was compleated. Mr. Dryden having turned papist, became disqualified for holding his place, and was accordingly dispossessed of it; and it was conferred on a man to whom he had a confirmed aversion. In consequence whereof he wrote a satire against him, called Mac Flecknoe; which is one of the severest and best written satires in our language.

Mr. Richard Flecknoe, the new laureat, with whose name it is inscribed, was a very indifferent poet of those times; or, rather, as Mr. Dryden expresses it,

In prose and verse was own'd, without dispute,  
Thro' all the realms of nonsense, absolute.

This poem furnished the hint to Mr. Pope to write his *Dunciad*; and it must be owned the latter has been more happy in the execution of his design, as having more leisure for the performance; but, in Dryden's *MacFlecknoe* there are some lines so extremely pungent, that I am not quite certain if Pope has any where exceeded them.

In the year wherein he was deprived of the laurel, he published the life of St. Francis Xavier, translated from the French of father Dominic Bouchorus. In 1693, came out a translation of Juvenal and Persius; in which the first, third, sixth, tenth, and sixteenth, satires of Juvenal, and Persius entire, were done by Mr. Dryden, who prefixed a long and ingenious discourse, by way of dedication, to the earl of Dorset. In this address, our author takes occasion a while to drop his reflexions on Juvenal, and to lay before his lordship a plan for an epic poem. He observes that his genius never much inclined him to the stage; and that he wrote for it rather from necessity than inclination. He complains, that his circumstances are such as not to suffer him to pursue the bent of his own genius, and then lays down the plan on which an epic poem might be written: "to which," says he, "I am more inclined."

Whether the plan proposed is faulty or no, we are not, at present, to consider; one thing is certain, a man of Mr. Dryden's genius would

would have covered, by the rapidity of the action, the art of the design and the beauty of the poetry, whatever might have been defective in the plan; and produced a work which would have been the boast of the nation.

We cannot help regretting on this occasion, that Dryden's fortune was not easy enough to enable him, with convenience and leisure, to pursue a work that might have proved an honour to himself, and reflected a portion thereof on all who should have appeared his encouragers on this occasion.

In 1695, Mr. Dryden published a translation in prose of Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*, with a preface containing a parallel between painting and poetry. Mr. Pope has addressed a copy of verses to Mr. Jervas in praise of Dryden's translation.

In 1697, his translation of Virgil's works came out. This translation has passed through many editions; and, of all the attempts which have been made to render Virgil into English, the critics, I think, have allowed that Dryden best succeeded\*; notwithstanding, as he himself says, when he began it, he was past the grand climacteric!—So little influence, it seems, age had over him, that he retained his judgment and fire in full force to

\* This was written before Mr. Dodlev's edition of Virgil in English appeared.

the last. Mr. Pope, in his preface to Homer, says, If Dryden had lived to finish what he began of Homer, he (Mr. Pope) would not have attempted it after him, "No more," says he, "than I would his Virgil; his version of whom, notwithstanding some human errors, is the most noble and spirited translation I know in any language."

Dr. Trap charges Mr. Dryden with grossly mistaking his author's sense in many places; with adding or retrenching, as his turn is best served with either; and with being least a translator where he shines most as a poet; whereas it is a just rule, laid down by lord Roscommon, that a translator, in regard to his author, should

Fall as he falls, and as he rises rise..

Mr. Dryden, he tells us, frequently acts the very reverse of this precept, of which he produces some instances; and remarks, in general, that the first six books of the *Æneis*, which are the best and most perfect in the original, are the least so in the translation. Dr. Trap's remarks may possibly be true; but, in this, he is an instance, how easy it is to discover faults in other men's works, and how difficult to avoid them in our own.

Dr. Trap's translation is close, and conveys the author's meaning literally; so, consequently, may be fitter for a school-boy; but

but men of riper judgment, and superior taste, will hardly approve it : if Dryden's is the most spirited of any translation, Trap's is the dullest that ever was written ; which proves, that none but a good poet is fit to translate the works of a good poet.

Besides the original pieces and translations hitherto mentioned, Mr. Dryden wrote many others, published in six volumes of Miscellanies, and in other collections. They consist of translations from the Greek and Latin poets ; epistles to several persons ; prologues and epilogues to several plays ; elegies, epitaphs, and songs. His last work was his Fables, Ancient and Modern, translated into verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer. To this work, which is, perhaps, one of his most imperfect, is prefixed, by way of preface, a critical account of the authors from whom the fables are translated.

Among the original pieces, the Ode to St. Cecilia's day is justly esteemed one of the most elevated in any language. It is impossible for a poet to read this without being filled with that sort of enthusiasm which is peculiar to the inspired tribe, and which Dryden largely felt when he composed it. The turn of the verse is noble ; the transitions surprising ; the language and sentiments just, natural, and heightened. We cannot be too lavish in praise of this ode ; had Dryden never wrote any thing besides, his name had been immortal. Mr.  
Pope



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Pope has the following beautiful lines in its praise\*.

Hear how Timotheus' varied lays surprize,  
And bid alternate passions fall and rise !  
While, at each change, the son of Lybian  
Jove  
Now burns with glory, and then melts with  
love :  
Now his fierce eyes with sparkling fury glow ;  
Now sighs steal out, and tears begin to flow ;  
Persians and Greeks like turns of nature found,  
And the world's victor stood subdued by sound :  
The power of music all our hearts allow ;  
And what Timotheus was, is Dryden now.

As to our author's performances in prose, besides his dedications and prefaces, and controversial writings, they consist of the Lives of Plutarch and Lucian, prefixed to the translation of those authors, by several hands ; the Life of Polybius, before the translation of that historian by Sir Henry Sheers ; and the preface to the Dialogue concerning Women, by William Walth, esquire.

Before we give an account of the dramatic works of Dryden, it will be proper here to insert a story concerning him, from the life of Congreve, by Charles Wilson, esquire, which that gentleman received from the lady whom

\* Essay on Criticism.

Mr. Dry-

Mr. Dryden celebrates by the name of Corinna; of whom it appears he was very fond, and who had the relation from lady Chudleigh.

Dryden, with all his understanding, was weak enough to be fond of judicial astrology, and used to calculate the nativity of his children. When his lady was in labour with his son Charles, he being told it was decent to withdraw, laid his watch on the table, begging one of the ladies then present, in a most solemn manner, to take exact notice of the very minute the child was born; which she did, and acquainted him with it.

About a week after, when his lady was pretty well recovered, Mr. Dryden took occasion to tell her, that he had been calculating the child's nativity; and observed, with grief, that he was born in an evil hour, for Jupiter, Venus, and the Sun, were all under the earth, and the lord of his ascendant afflicted with a hateful square of Mars and Saturn. "If he lives to arrive at his eighth year," says he, "he will go near to die a violent death on his very birth-day; but, if he should escape, as I see but small hopes, he will, in the twenty-third year, be under the same evil direction; and, if he should escape that also, the thirty-third or thirty-fourth year, is, I fear,"—Here he was interrupted by the immoderate grief of his lady, who could no longer hear calamity prophesied to befall her son.

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The time at last came, and August was the inauspicious month in which young Dryden was to enter into the eighth year of his age. The court being in progress, and Mr. Dryden at leisure, he was invited to the country-seat of the earl of Berkshire, his brother-in-law, to keep the long vacation with him in Charlton, in Wilts; his lady was invited to her uncle Mordaunt's, to pass the remainder of the summer. When they came to divide the children, lady Elizabeth would have him take John, and suffer her to take Charles; but Mr. Dryden was too absolute, and they parted in anger: he took Charles with him, and she was obliged to be content with John.

When the fatal day came, the anxiety of the lady's spirits occasioned such an effervescence of blood, as threw her into so violent a fever that her life was despaired of, till a letter came from Mr. Dryden, reproving her for her womanish credulity, and assuring her that her child was well; which recovered her spirits, and, in six weeks after, she received an éclaircissement of the whole affair.

Mr. Dryden, either through fear of being reckoned superstitious, or thinking it a science beneath his study, was extremely cautious of letting any one know that he was a dealer in astrology; therefore could not excuse his absence, on his son's anniversary, from a general hunting-match lord Berkshire had made, to which all the adjacent gentlemen were invited. When he went out, he took  
care

care to set the boy a double exercise in the Latin tongue, which he taught his children himself with a strict charge not to stir out of the room till his return ; well knowing the task he had set him would take him up longer time.

Charles was performing his duty, in obedience to his father ; but, as ill fate would have it, the stag made towards the house, and the noise alarming the servants, they hastened out to see the sport. One of them took young Dryden by the hand, and led him out to see it also ; when, just as they came to the gate, the stag being at bay with the dogs, made a bold push and leaped over the court wall, which was very low and very old ; and the dogs following, threw down a part of the wall, ten yards in length, under which Charles Dryden lay buried. He was immediately dug out, and, after six weeks languishing in a dangerous way, he recovered.—So far Dryden's prediction was fulfilled.

In the twenty third year of his age, Charles fell from the top of an old tower belonging to the Vatican at Rome, occasioned by a swimming in his head, with which he was seized, the heat of the day being excessive. He again recovered, but was ever after in a languishing, sickly state.

In the thirty - third year of his age, being returned to England, he was unhappily drowned at Windsor. He had, with another gentleman, swam twice over the Thames ; but returning a third time, it was supposed he was

taken with the cramp, because he called out for help, though too late.—Thus the father's calculation proved but too prophetic.

Mr. Dryden died on the first of May, 1701, and was interred in Westminster abbey. On the nineteenth of April he had been very bad with the gout and erisipelas in one leg; but he was then somewhat recovered, and designed to go abroad. On the Friday following he eat a partridge for his supper; and going to take a turn in the little garden behind his house in Gerard-street, he was seized with a violent pain under the ball of the great toe of his right foot; that, unable to stand, he cried out for help, and was carried in by his servants; when, upon sending for surgeons, they found a small black spot in the place affected. He submitted to their present applications; and, when gone, called his son Charles to him, using these words: “I know this black spot is a mortification; I know also, that it will seize my head, and that they will attempt to cut off my leg; but I command you, my son, by your filial duty, that you do not suffer me to be dismembered.” As he foretold, the event proved; and his son was too dutiful to disobey his father's commands.

On the Wednesday morning following, he breathed his last, under the most excruciating pains, in the sixty ninth year of his age; and left behind him the lady Elizabeth, his wife, and three sons. Lady Elizabeth survived him eight years, four of which she was a lunatic, being

being deprived of her senses by a nervous fever in 1704.

John, another of his sons, died of a fever at Rome; and Charles, as has been observed, was drowned in the Thames. There is no account when, or at what place, Harry, his third son, died.

Charles Dryden, who was some time usher to pope Clement II. was a young gentleman of a very promising genius; and, in the affair of his father's funeral, which I am about to relate, shewed himself a man of spirit and resolution\*.

The day after Mr. Dryden's death, the dean of Westminster sent word to Mr. Dryden's widow, that he would make a present of the ground, and all other abbey fees for the funeral. The lord Halifax likewise sent to the lady Elizabeth, and to Mr. Charles Dryden, offering to defray the expences of the poet's funeral, and afterwards to bestow five hundred pounds on a monument in the abbey: which generous offer was accepted.

Accordingly, on Sunday following, the company being assembled, the corpse was put into a velvet hearse, attended by eighteen mourning coaches. When they were just ready to move, lord Jefferys, son of lord-chancellor Jefferys, a name dedicated to infamy, with some of his rakish companions

\* Life of Congreve.

riding by, asked whose funeral it was; and, being told it was Mr. Dryden's, he protested he should not be buried in that private manner; that he would himself, with the lady Elizabeth's leave, have the honour of the interment, and would bestow a thousand pounds on a monument in the abbey for him.

This put a stop to the procession; and the lord Jefferys, with several of the gentlemen, who had alighted from their coaches, went up stairs to the lady, who was sick in bed. His lordship repeated the purport of what he had said below; but the lady Elizabeth refusing her consent, he fell on his knees, vowing never to rise till his request was granted. The lady, under a sudden surprize, fainted away; and lord Jefferys, pretending to have obtained her consent, ordered the body to be carried to Mr. Russel's, an undertaker in Cheap-side, and to be left there till further orders. In the mean time, the abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, the choir attending, and bishop waiting some hours to no purpose for the corpse.

The next day, Mr. Charles Dryden waited on my lord Halifax and the bishop, and endeavoured to excuse his mother by relating the truth.

Three days after, the undertaker having received no orders, waited on the lord Jefferys, who pretended it was a drunken frolic, that he remembered nothing of the matter, and he  
might

might do what he pleased with the body. Upon this, the undertaker waited on the lady Elizabeth, who desired a day's respite, which was granted. Mr. Charles Dryden immediately wrote to the lord Jefferys, who returned for answer, that he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it. Mr. Dryden hereupon applied again to the lord Halifax, and the bishop of Rochester, who absolutely refused to do any thing in the affair.

In this distress, Dr. Garth, who had been Mr. Dryden's intimate friend, sent for the corpse to the college of physicians, and proposed a subscription; which succeeding, about three weeks after Mr. Dryden's decease, Dr. Garth pronounced a fine Latin oration over the body, which was conveyed from the college, attended by a numerous train of coaches to Westminster-abbey, but in very great disorder. At last the corpse arrived at the abbey, which was all unlighted. No organ played, no anthem rung; only two of the boys preceded the corpse, who sung an ode of Horace, with each a small candle in his hand.

When the funeral was over, Mr. Charles Dryden sent a challenge to lord Jefferys, who refusing to answer it, he sent several others, and went often himself; but could neither get a letter delivered, nor admittance to speak to him; which so incensed him, that, finding his lordship refused to answer him like a gentleman,



tleman, he resolved to watch an opportunity, and brave him to fight, though with all the rules of honour; which his lordship hearing, quitted the town, and Mr. Charles never had an opportunity to meet him, though he sought it to his death with the utmost application.

Mr. Dryden had no monument erected to him for several years; to which Mr. Pope alludes in his epitaph intended for Mr. Rowe, in this line,

Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies.

In a note upon which we are informed, that the tomb of Mr. Dryden was erected upon this hint, by Sheffield, duke of Buckingham; to which was originally intended this epitaph,

This Sheffield raised.—The sacred dust below  
Was Dryden's once.—The rest who does not know.

Which was since changed into the plain inscription now upon it: viz.

J. D R Y D E N.

Natus Aug. 9, 1631.

Mortus Maii 1, 1701.

Johannes Sheffield, dux Buckinghamiensis fecit.

The

The character of Mr. Dryden has been drawn by various hands; some have done it in a favourable, others in an opposite manner. The nation of Sarum, in the history of his own time, says, that the page was defiled beyond all example; "Dryden, the great master of dramatic poetry, being a monster of immodesty and impurity of all sorts." † The late lord Lansdown took upon himself to vindicate Mr. Dryden's character from this severe imputation; which was again answered, and apologies made for it, by Mr. Burnet, the bishop's son. But, not to dwell on these controversies about his character, let us hear what Mr. Congreve says, in the dedication of Dryden's works to the duke of Newcastle. Congreve knew him intimately; and, as he could have no motive to deceive the world in that particular; and being a man of untainted morals, none can suspect his authority; and, by his account, we shall see, that Dryden was, indeed, as amiable in private life, as a man; as he was illustrious, in the eye of the public, as a poet.

"Mr. Dryden," says Congreve, "had personal qualities to challenge love and esteem

† In Millar's edition of the bishop's works, we have the following note upon this passage. "This," says the editor, "must be understood of his performances for the stage; for, as to his personal character, there was nothing remarkably vicious in it: but his plays are, some of them, the fullest of obscenity of any now extant."

from all who were truly acquainted with him. He was of a nature exceeding humane and compassionate, easily forgiving injuries, and capable of a prompt and sincere reconciliation with those who had offended him. His friendship, where he professed it, went much beyond his professions. As his reading had been very extensive, so was he very happy in a memory tenacious of every thing he had read. He was not more possessed of knowledge than he was communicative of it; but then his communication of it was by no means pedantic, or imposed upon the conversation, but just such, and went so far, as, by the natural turns of the discourse in which he was engaged it was necessarily prompted or required. He was extremely ready and gentle in the correction of the errors of any writer who thought fit to consult him, and full as ready and patient to admit of the reprehensions of others in respect of his own oversight or mistakes. He was of a very easy, I may say of a very pleasing, access; but something slow, and, as it were diffident, in his advances to others. He had something in his nature that abhorred intrusion in any society whatsoever; and, indeed, it is to be regretted that he was rather blameable on the other extreme. He was, of all men I ever knew, the most modest, and the most easy to be discountenanced in his approaches, either to his superiors or to his equals.

“ As to his writings, I may venture to say, in general terms, that no man hath written, in our language, so much, and so various matter ; and, in so various manners, so well. Another thing, I may say, was very peculiar to him ; which is, that his parts did not decline with his years ; but that he was an improving writer to the last, even to near seventy years of age ; improving even in fire and imagination as well as in judgment ; witness his Ode on St. Cecilia’s Day ; and his Fables ; his latest performances. He was equally excellent in verse and prose : his prose had all the clearness imaginable, without deviating to the language or diction of poetry ; and I have heard him frequently own with pleasure, that, if he had any talent for writing prose, it was owing to his frequently having read the writings of the great archbishop Tillotson. In his poems, his diction is, wherever his subject requires it, so sublime, and so truly poetical, that its essence, like that of pure gold, cannot be destroyed. Take his verses, and divest them of their rhimes, disjoint them of their numbers, transpose their expressions, make what arrangement or disposition you please in his words ; yet shall there eternally be poetry, and something which will be found incapable of being reduced to absolute prose. What he has done in any one species, or distinct kind of writing, would have been sufficient to have acquired him a very great name. If he had written nothing but his prefaces, or nothing

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but his songs, or his prologues, each of them would have entitled him to the preference and distinction of excelling in its kind."

Besides Mr. Dryden's numerous other performances, we find him the author of twenty-seven dramatic pieces, of which the following is an account.

1. *The Wild Gallant*, a comedy, acted at the theatre royal, and printed in 4to, Lond. 1699.

2. *The Indian Emperor; or the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards*; acted with great applause, and written in verse.

3. *An Evening's Love, or the Mock-Astrologer*: a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1671.—It is, for the most part, taken from Corneille's *Feint Astrologue*, Moliere's *Debit Amoureux*, and *l'precieux Ridicules*.

4. *Marriage A-la-mode*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to, 1673, dedicated to the earl of Rochester.

5. *Amboyna*, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1673. It is dedicated to the lord Clifford, of Chudleigh. The plot of this play is chiefly founded in history, giving an account of the cruelty of the Dutch towards our countrymen at Amboyna, A. D. 1618.

6. *The Mistaken Husband*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1675.

Mr.

Mr. Langbaine tells us, Mr. Dryden was not the author of this play, though it was adopted by him as an orphan, which might well deserve the charity of a scene he bestowed on it. It is in the nature of low comedy, or farce, and written on the model of Plautus's *Menæchmi*.

7. *Aurenge-zebe*, or the Great Mogul, a tragedy, dedicated to the earl of Mulgrave, and acted in 1676. The story is related at large in *Taverner's Voyages to the Indies*, vol. i. part 2. This play is written in heroic verse.

8. *The Tempest*, or the Inchanterd Island; a comedy, acted at the duke of York's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1676. This is only an alteration of Shakespear's *Tempest*, by Sir William Davenant and Dryden. The new characters in it were chiefly the invention and writing of Sir William, as acknowledged by Mr. Dryden in his preface.

9. *Feigned Innocence*, or Sir Martin Mar-all, a comedy, acted at the duke of York's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1678. The foundation of this is originally French, the greatest part of the plot, and some of the language, being taken from Moliere's *Eteurdi*.

10. *The Affignation*, or Love in a Nunnery, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1678, addressed to Sir Charles Sedley. This play, Mr. Langbaine tells us, was damned on the stage; or, as the author expresses it in the epistle dedicatory,

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succeeded ill in the representation ; but, whether the fault was in the play itself, or in the lameness of the action, or in the numbers of its enemies, who came resolved to damn it for the title, he will not pretend any more than the author to determine.

11. *The State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man*, an opera, written in heroic verse, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to her royal highness the duchess of York, on whom the author passes the following extravagant compliment.

“ Your person is so admirable, that it can scarce receive any addition when it shall be glorified ; and your ‘*cu*’ which shines through it, finds it of a substance to bear her own, that she will be pleased to pass an age within it, and to be confined to such a palace.”

To this piece is prefixed an apology for heroic poetry and poetic licence. The subject is taken from Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, of which, it must be acknowledged, it is a poor imitation.

12. *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, in two parts, two tragi-comedies, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 1678 — These two plays are dedicated to the duke of York, and were received on the stage with great applause. The story is to be found in Mariana’s *History of Spain*, B. xxv. chap. 18.

These plays are written in rhyme. To the first is prefixed an *Essay on Heroic Plays*, and

to the second an Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age.

13. All for Love, or the World Well Lost, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to the earl of Danby.

This is the only play of Mr. Dryden's which, he says, ever pleased himself; and he tells us, that he prefers the scene between Anthony and Ventidius, in the first act, to any thing he had written of this kind. It is full of fine sentiments, and the most poetical and beautiful descriptions of any of his plays: the description of Cleopatra in her barge exceeds any thing in poetry, except Shakespear's and in our St Cecilia.

14. Tyrranic Love, or the Royal Martyr, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal in 1679. It is written in rhyme, and dedicated to the duke of Monmouth.

15. Troilus and Cressida, or Truth found too late, a tragedy, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1679. It is dedicated to the earl of Sunderland, and has a preface prefixed concerning grounds of criticism in tragedy.—This play was originally Shakespear's, and revised and altered by Dryden, who added several new scenes. The plot is taken from Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida, which that poet translated from the original story, written in Latin verse by Lollius, a Lombard.

16. Secret



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16. *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen*, a tragi-comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. in 1697. The serious part of the plot is founded on the history of Cleobulipe, queen of Corinth.

17. *The Rival Ladies*, a tragi-comedy, acted at the theatre-royal in 1679. It is dedicated to the earl of Orrery. The dedication is in the nature of a preface, in defence of English verse or rhyme.

18. *The Kind Keeper, or Mr. Limberham*, a comedy, acted at the duke's theatre, printed in 4to. in 1680. It is dedicated to John lord Vaughan.—Mr. Langbaine says, “It so much exposed the keepers about town, that all the old lechers were up in arms against it, and damned it the third night.

19. *The Spanish Fryar, or the Double Discovery*, a tragi-comedy, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed in 1681. It is dedicated to John lord Haughton.—This is one of Mr. Dryden's best plays, and still keeps possession of the stage. It is said that he was afterwards so much concerned for having ridiculed the character of the Fryar, that it impaired his health. What effect bigotry, or the influence of priests, might have on him, on this occasion, we leave others to determine.

20. *Duke of Guise*, a tragedy, acted in 1688. It was written by Dryden and Lee, and dedicated to Hyde, earl of Rochester.—This play gave great offence to the Whigs, and

and engaged several writers for and against it.

21. *Albion and Albanus*, an opera, performed at the queen's theatre in Dorset-gardens, and printed in folio, 1685. The subject of it is wholly allegorical, and intended to expose my lord Shaftsbury and his party.

22. *Don Sebastian king of Portugal*, a tragedy, acted in 1690, dedicated to the earl of Leicester.

23. *King Arthur, or the British Worthy*, a tragedy, acted in 1691, dedicated to the marquis of Halifax.

24. *Amphytrion, or the Two Socias*, a comedy, acted in 1691, dedicated to Sir Leveson Gower, taken from Plautus and Moliere.

25. *Cleomenes, the Spartan Hero*, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. in 1692, dedicated to the earl of Rochester. There is prefixed to it the *Life of Cleomenes*, translated from Plutarch by Mr. Creech.—This play was prohibited by the lord chamberlain; but, upon examination, being found innocent of any design to satirize the government, it was suffered to be represented, and had great success. In the preface, the author tells us, that a foolish objection had been raised against him by the sparks for Cleomenes not accepting the favours of Cassandra. "They," says he, "would not have refused a fair lady. I grant they would not: but let them grant me, that they are no heroes."

26. *Love*

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26. Love Triumphant, or Nature will prevail, a tragi comedy, acted in 1694. It is dedicated to the earl of Shaftsbury, and is the last Mr. Dryden wrote, or intended, for the theatre. It met but with indifferent success, though, in many parts, the genius of that great man breaks out, especially in the discovery of Alphonso's successful love, and in the catastrophe, which is extremely affecting.







*S.<sup>r</sup> William Temple*

*Brigham Saifu*

THE LIFE OF  
WILLIAM TEMPLE.

**S**IR WILLIAM TEMPLE, baronet, was descended from a younger branch of the family of the Temples, at Temple-hall, in Leicestershire. He was grandson of Sir William Temple, secretary to the unfortunate Robert earl of Essex, and afterwards provost of Dublin college; and son of Sir John Temple, master of the rolls in Ireland, by Mary, sister of the learned Dr. Henry Hammond; being born at London in the year of our Lord 1628.

From his youth he discovered a curious and penetrating genius, and a remarkable thirst after knowledge; which his father happily took care to cultivate by a genteel and liberal education. At eight years old he was sent to school at Penshurst, in Kent, under the care of his uncle Dr. Hammond, then minister of the parish. From thence, at ten, he went to Mr. Leigh, school master of Bishop Stortford; and, at seventeen, he was placed at Emanuel college, in Cambridge, under Dr. Ralph Cudworth, author of the Intellectual System.

In this university he distinguished himself by the improvements he had acquired in every  
part

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part of human learning; and, besides the academic tongues, he made himself perfect master of the two most useful modern languages, the French and the Spanish. So that, when he removed from thence, he had, by his parts and his industry, rendered himself capable of any public employment.

At nineteen, he began his travels into France; and, passing through the Isle of Wight, where king Charles I. was then prisoner in Carisbrook-castle, he met there with Mrs. Dorothy Osborn, daughter of Sir Peter Osborn, then governor of Guernsey for the king, who was going with her brother to their father at St. Malo's.

He made that journey with them; and there began an amour with that young lady, which lasted seven years, and then ended in a happy marriage. He passed two years in France, learned a perfect acquaintance with their manners, and soon after made a tour into Holland, Flanders, and Germany; in which he further polished and improved his natural abilities.

After his return in 1654, he married Mrs. Osborn; and, during the usurpation, passed his time privately with his father, his two brothers, and a sister, in Ireland. The five years he lived there, were spent chiefly in his closet in improving himself in history and philosophy; and he refused all solicitations of entering into any public employment till the restoration, when he was chosen member of the convention in Ireland, as he was likewise  
of

of the subsequent parliament for the county of Carlow; and, in 1662, was appointed one of the commissioners to be sent from the parliament to the king, into whose favour he was introduced by the lord-chancellor Clarendon and the earl of Arlington.

From this time, during the twenty succeeding years, (that is to say, from the thirty-second to the fifty-second year of his age) he continued to act as a counsellor of state, with particular honour and success; which period he took to be the part of a man's life most fit to be dedicated to the services of his prince and country; the rest being, as he observed, too much taken up with his pleasures or his ease.

To give a particular account of his negotiations at home and abroad, would be, to lay open a great part of the history of that reign; yet some account ought to be given of his management in several treaties, which have helped to immortalize his name; some, as a temporary advantage; others, as a lasting blessing to these kingdoms.

In 1665, he was sent by his majesty to the bishop of Munster, in order to conclude a treaty, by which that bishop obliged himself, upon receiving a certain sum of money, to enter immediately with the king into the war with Holland; and, soon after, he received a commission to be resident at Brussels, with a patent for the dignity of a baronet. But, as this affair is set in the clearest light by his own inimitable



inimitable pen, we shall here present the reader with a letter written by Sir William Temple to his father, Sir John, then in Ireland, dated at Brussels, on the sixth of September, 1665.

S I R,

THOUGH I was forced, by the king's command, not only to leave you and my family at very short warning, and in a very melancholy season, but without so much as telling you whither I was sent, yet I would not fail making you this amends, by giving you an account of my journey and negotiations thus far, so soon as I thought it might be fit for me to do it.

When my lord Arlington sent for me to Sheen, it was to let me know, that the king had received an overture from the bishop of Munster, to enter into an alliance with his majesty against the Dutch, from whom he pretended many injuries; to bring an army into the field, and fall upon them by land, while his majesty continued the war by sea: but, at the same time, to demand certain sums of money, that would be necessary to bring him into the field, and to continue the war: and, that, if his majesty would either treat with the baron of Wreden, (who was the minister he sent over in the greatest privacy that could be) or send a minister of his own to treat with him; he doubted not an easy agreement upon  
this

this matter, but desired it might be with all the secrecy imaginable.

My lord Arlington told me, the main articles were already agreed on here, and the money adjusted; but, that it was necessary for the king to send over some person privately to finish the treaty at Munster, and to see the payments made at Antwerp, where the bishop seemed to desire them. That I must go, if I undertook it, without train or character, and pass for a Frenchman or a Spaniard in my journey; and made me the compliment to say, he had been perplexed, three or four days together, to think of a person that was not only capable of the affair and of the secret, but that was to be trusted with such a sum of money; but, that when he had thought of me, and proposed me to the king and to my lord chancellor, they had both approved it, and I must suddenly resolve upon my answer to the proposal he made me: but, whether I accepted it or no, I must keep it secret from my nearest friends.

I told him upon the place, I would serve his majesty the best I could in it; though, being a new man, I could not promise much for myself; that there was only one point I could by no means digest, which was the business of the money; having ever been averse from charging myself with any body's but my own. This made, at first, some difficulty between us; but, at last, his lordship was content to  
endeavour

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endeavour the engaging alderman Backwel, who furnished it, to go over himself with it into Flanders; and there, by my order, to make the payment to the bishop's agent; and said, he believed, at such a time of infection in London, the alderman might easily take an occasion of such a journey.

After my instructions were dispatched, I came away in haste, and with the secrecy you saw; and, without more than one day's stop at Brussels, went strait with the baron of Wreden to Coesvelt, where the bishop then was. I stay'd there but three days, was brought to him only by night, agreed all points with him, perfected and signed the treaty, and returned to Antwerp, where the alderman performed his part, in making the first and great payment to the bishop's resident there. All this has been performed on all sides with so great secrecy, that the bishop has not only received his money, but raised his troops to about eighteen thousand men, without the least umbrage given, that I can hear of, to the Dutch; and, by all the assurances I receive from him, I conclude, that, before this letter comes to your hands, he will be in the field; tho' some unexpected disappointments about a general officer he reckoned upon has a little discomposed the measures he had taken; and may, I doubt, not a little maim the progress of them: but that will be governed by time and accidents; my business was to bring him  
into

into the field, and I have had the good fortune to do it sooner than either they expected at court, or the bishop had promised upon our signing of the treaty.

He is a man of wit and, which is more, of sense; of great ambition, and properly, *Un Esprit remuant*: but the vigour of his body does not exceed that of his mind, being, as I guess, about six or seven and fifty years old, and pursued by the gout, which he is not like to cure by his manner of life. He was a soldier in his youth, and seems, in his naturals, rather made for the Sword than the Cross. He has a mortal hatred to the Dutch for their supporting his city of Munster against him; and is bridling those citizens by a very strong citadel he is building there. He seems bold and resolute, and like to go through with what he has undertaken, or break his head in the attempt; and says he will perform all he has engaged, *Fide sincerâ & Germanicâ*, which is a word he affects. He speaks the only good Latin that I have yet met with in Germany, and more like a man of court and business than a scholar. He says, if he fails in his enterprize, and should lose his country, he shall esteem his condition not at all the worse; for, in that case, he will go into Italy, and has money enough in the bank of Venice to buy a cardinal's cap, which may become him better than his general's staff, though he has a mind to try this first, and make some noise in the world before he retires.

This

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This is the best character I can give of the bishop; and, for myself, I can say nothing but what you know; finding no change at all by this fall into a new scene of life and business as well as climate; my health, I thank God, is the same; my kindness so too, to my friends and to home, only my concernment for them in this miserable time among them, much greater while I am here than when I was with them; which makes me very impatient after every post that comes in, and yet very apprehensive of every letter I open. — The length of this, I doubt, is too much for once; and therefore shall end with the assurances of being,

S I R,

Your most obedient son  
and humble servant,

W. Temple.

But one of the most famous circumstances in Sir William Temple's life, was his skilful and dexterous bringing about the triple-league between England, Holland, and Sweden, in the latter end of the year 1667, so much to the peace of Europe and to the diminution of the threatening power of France. This was managed with so much secrecy and uncommon industry, together with so much unexpected success, that the great statesman De Wit, too much leaning to the French party, could not help

help complimenting him, with having the honour which never any other minister had before him, of drawing the states to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the greatest importance, and an assistance of the greatest expence they had ever been engaged in ; and all directly against the nature of their constitution ; which enjoined them to have recourse to their provinces : adding, That now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

Upon the conclusion, two letters were writ; one from De Witt to the earl of Arlington, and the second from the states-general to the king of Great-Britain ; of which some notice ought to be taken.

The former says, “ As it was impossible to send a minister of greater capacity, or more proper for the temper or genius of this nation than Sir William Temple ; so, I believe, no other person, either will, or can, more equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has found the states, to answer the good intentions of the king of Great Britain.”

In the states letter, they tell the king, “ As it is a thing without example, that, in so few days, three such important treaties have been concluded, so, we can say, That the address, the vigilance, and the sincerity, of Sir William Temple, are also without example. If your majesty continues to make use of such ministers, the knot will grow too fast ever to be untied.” And yet Sir William Temple,

with no less wit than modesty, gave another turn to it in a letter to Monsieur Gourville, saying, "They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities, for having finished and signed, in five days, a treaty of such importance to Christendom : but I will tell you the secret of it ; To draw things out of their centre, requires labour and address to put them in motion ; but to make them return thither, nature helps so far, that there needs no more than just to set them a going."

But, as this memorable treaty is well known to have been the master-stroke of policy of that reign, the influence of which has been felt in Europe from that time to this, we think it will not be disagreeable to our readers if we present them with another letter of Sir William Temple's, written to lord Arlington, then secretary of state upon that occasion. It is dated from the Hague, on the twenty-fourth of January, N. S. 1668 ; and, as it shews Sir William's excellent talent at literary compositions, so it gives an entertaining and satisfactory account of the progress and completion of the famous triple alliance.

My Lord,

UPON last Friday, at night, I gave your lordship the account of what advance I had then made in my negotiation, and of the point where it was then arrested, with desires of his majesty's pleasure ; whereupon having spent  
that

that whole day in debates, I had little time left for that letter, but intended to make some amends for the haste of it, within two days, by a dispatch with the yacht; and, though delayed a little longer, will not, I hope, be more unwelcome by bringing your lordship a fuller and final account, which may be allowed to surprize you a little there, since it is looked upon as a miracle here, not only by those that hear it, but even by the commissioners themselves, who have had the whole transaction of it; which I shall now acquaint your lordship with.

Upon my two first conferences with Monsieur de Witt, which were the Tuesday and Wednesday, I found him much satisfied with his majesty's resolution concerning our neighbours; but of the opinion, that the condition of forcing Spain was necessary to our common end, and to clear the means towards it from all accidents that might arise. For the defensive league he was of his former opinion, that it should be negotiated between us; but upon the project offered his majesty at Schevelin, by which all matter of commerce might be so adjusted, as to leave no seeds of any new quarrels between the nations.

After two very long conferences upon these points, we ended with some difference upon the necessity of concluding both parts of my projects at the same time; but, for the rest, with great confidence and satisfaction, in one



another's sincere and frank way of treating since the first overtures between us.

The first time I saw him, he told me, I came upon a day he should always esteem very happy, both in respect of his majesty's resolutions, which I brought, and of those the states had taken, about the disposal of the chief commands in their army, by making prince Maurice and Monsieur Wurtz commanders-general, and the prince of Tarante and Rhingrave generals of the horse, each to command in the absence of the other. He told me all the detail of that disposition, but the rest I remember not well. I laid hold on this occasion, as indeed I thought was necessary, to say what his majesty gave me order concerning the prince of Orange; which he took very well, and said, was very obliging to the states; that, for his own part, he never failed to see the prince once or twice a week, and grew to have a particular affection for him; and would tell me plainly; that the states designed the captain-generalship of all the forces for him, so soon as by his age he grew capable of it.

The next day was my audience, which passed with all the respect that could be given his majesty's character; and the next morning began my conference with the eight commissioners of secret affairs. I exposed my powers, and saw theirs; in pursuit whereof I offered them the project of the defensive league

as that which was to be the foundation of all farther negotiations, and without which, perhaps, neither of us should be very forward to speak our minds with confidence and freedom, in what concerned our neighbours, being likely therein to shock so many great powers abroad. I told them, for the rest, his majesty having resolved, as far as he could in honour, to comply with the sense of the states, in the offices of mediation between the two crowns; I was first to expect from them the knowledge of the states resolution, in case they were already agreed.

I took this course in my first proposals, because I found here that the provinces were not yet resolved upon theirs, five of them only having fallen upon that of Monsieur de Witt; but Zealand being of opinion to agree with France for dividing Flanders; and Utrecht for suffering France only to retain the last year's conquest, by way of compromise, till their pretensions were adjudged before competent arbiters, to be agreed by the two crowns, or by the joint mediators: and I was in hopes, that, knowing his majesty's resolutions to join with them, before they were agreed among themselves, it might produce some counsels among them a little more favourable to Flanders, and consequently more honourable to his majesty.

After my proposals, Monsieur de Witt was, by the rest or the commissioners, desired to  
speak.

speaking for them all in the conduct of our conferences; who, after a preamble of the usual forms and compliments, upon his majesty's happy dispositions to enter into a nearer alliance with the states upon the mentioned points, declared the same resolution in the states, and allowing our confidence by a defensive league for the basis of the rest, said, The states were very willing, *de faire insérer les clauses pour la sûreté commune dans les articles de la médiation*; and was large upon this argument, That the last being of very pressing haste, as well as necessity, and they having already order from their provinces to proceed upon it, they could not have the same powers upon the defensive, being a new matter, under six weeks or two months time; but, as soon as they received them, would proceed to give their ambassador in England powers to fall upon that treaty; which must, for a basis, have, at the same time, an adjustment of matters of commerce for his forementioned reasons.

I thought fit to cut this matter short, and told them directly, I had no orders to proceed upon any other points, but in consequence or conjunction of the defensive league! in which I thought his majesty had all the reason that could be, both because he would not venture a war's ending in Flanders to begin upon England; and, on the other side, knew the states, whose danger was nearer, would never be capable of taking any vigorous resolutions in  
their

their neighbours affairs, till they were secure at home by his majesty's defence.

That his majesty thought the most generous and friendly advance that could be, was made on his side by his proposition, being himself so much more out of danger than they<sup>were</sup>, and so much courted to a conjunction with France to their prejudice, as well as that of Flanders ; that they had not made a difficulty of such alliances with princes, who had lately *desmelees* with them as well as his majesty ; and that, God be thanked, his majesty was not in condition to have such an offer refused by any prince or state of Christendom.

These were the sum of our discourses, tho' very long, and such as occasioned the commissioners to withdraw thrice and consult together, though nothing was resolved, but that Monsieur de Witt and Monsieur Ibrant should spend the afternoon with me at my lodging, to endeavour the adjusting of circumstances between us, since we seemed to agree in substance.

That conference ended, as I gave your lordship notice that evening, upon the point, that, inlead of the province Schevelin, or any new adjustment concerning marine affairs ; the states would proceed upon his majesty's project of a defensive league, provided the provisional articles in the Breda treaty might be inserted and perpetuated in this ; and thereupon we should expect his majesty's answer to what I should write that night.

The next being Saturday morning, I desired another conference with my two commissioners, but could not have it till the afternoon, they being to report that morning to the states what had passed the evening before. At our meeting after noon, they told me their communication of all to the states, and their lordships resolutions upon them, that it was necessary the articles provisional should be inserted in the treaty, so as I began to doubt a stop of all till his majesty's answer, which subjected all to uncertainty; I knew the French ambassador was grown into very ill humour upon my arrival, and fallen into complaints and excolulation with several of the states; and the more because he could not see Monsieur de Witt from my coming over till that time, though he had often pressed it, and had an hour given him the next day, Monsieur de Witt having promised to see him as he went to church after noon.

Upon this I knew likewise he had dispatched a courier to Paris, which I thought would make no delay, and therefore resolved to fall upon all the instances and expedients I could to draw up a sudden conclusion. I told them I desired it extremely, before I could hear again out of England, because I had left Monsieur Ruvigny very busy at my coming away, and not unbefriended; that I feared the same artifices of France to disturb us here; and perhaps Monsieur d'Estrades might, at his next meeting, endeavour to insufe some jealousies

lousies into them, by the relation of what had passed between your lordship and Monsieur Ruvigny, three or four days after the date of my first instructions ; upon which I told them frankly (as his majesty gave me leave, what had passed in that affair.

Monsieur de Witt asked me whether I could shew him the paper drawn up between you ; and knowing I had it not, desiring earnestly I would procure it him, assuring me no use should be made of it but by joint consent : but saying, nothing would serve so far to justify them, in case of a breach growing necessary between them and France, I promised to write to your lordship about it ; which I desire you will please to take notice of.

I told Monsieur de Witt what confidence I had given his majesty of his sincere proceedings, and how I had been supported by your lordship in those suggestions, against the opinion of some other great men : what advantage these would take, if they saw our whole negotiation was stopped upon a thing that looked like a chicanery ; since articles provisional till new agreements, were, in effect as strong as perpetual, which might itself be changed by new agreements : that this would be esteemed an artifice of his, especially since he had declared, upon my asking him, that it was his own opinion, (and that he also would tell the states so if they demanded it) not to conclude without insertion of those articles, which yet he could not deny to be of

present force; for that they allowed; but seemed to doubt, that, referring in the treaty of Breda to a new treaty, they would be invalidated if a new treaty should pass without their confirmation.

I found Monsieur Isbrant was content with my reasons, and said he would undertake his province should be so; but Monsieur de Witt said, Holland and Zealand would not. I told them, at last, that I was sure the states would not think fit to lose the effect of the league proposed upon such a point as this; and that they intended only to have the advantage of seeing his majesty's resolution, in answer to my letter before they concluded, with resolutions, however, that this should not hinder at last, that I foresaw many things might arise in ten day's time, to break all our good intentions; and some more than I had told them, or could at present; that, if they knew me, and how far I was to be trusted where I gave my word, I would propose an expedient to them; but being so new among them, I thought it was to no purpose:—there I paused. They desired I would propose however, and so I did; which was, that we should proceed to draw up the whole project, and sign as soon as was possible; and that, in case I afterwards received his majesty's leave, in answer of my Friday's letter, to insert those provisional articles, I would freely declare it to them, and insert them in a separate article, to be a part of the defensive league. They both looked a while

while one upon another, and, after a pause, Monsieur de Witt gave me his hand; and, after a compliment upon the confidence he had taken in my face, and in the rest of my dealing since our first commerce, told me, that, if I would promise them what I had said, *en homme de bien*, they would ask no farther assurance of me; and, provided the treaty of Breda might be confirmed in the preamble of this, to take away all scruples of those articles being of less force than they were before; for his part, though he could promise nothing what the states would resolve, yet he would promise that he and Monsieur Isbrant would use their utmost endeavours, to induce them to proceed upon my proposition; and so we fell immediately to digest our project of the whole treaty; for I made no difficulty of the confirmation proposed, knowing that new treaties use to begin by confirmation of the old.

I am the larger in this relation, that his majesty may know upon what reasons I engaged my word to them in this point; and thereupon may give me leave, without more circumstances, to be true to it, in case his majesty's pleasure in the point be dispatched away to me, upon the receipt of my former letter.

After this difficulty was well evaded, we found none but in this expression, "In case our persuasions to Spain should not prevail, and we should come *à la force & à la contrainte*," which I moderated at first by the



words, “ *aux moyens plus efficaces,*” for we drew it up in French. The other additions, or enlargements, I dare presume, his majesty will not be displeased with, no more than that article about Portugal, though I had no instruction in it. If I have failed in enlarging upon very short and hasty instructions, I most humbly beg his majesty’s pardon, because I am sure I kept myself as close as was possible to what I apprehended to be his majesty’s sense upon the whole and every part.

That evening, being Saturday, or rather that night and Sunday morning, we agreed upon the project in French, and gave order for the translating of it into Latin; which was done, and perused by me, and agreed to between twelve and one that night, and engrossed by eleven next morning, being Monday; and, at a meeting with the commissioners, it jointly was signed and sealed, and mutually delivered between two and three that afternoon. After that our time was spent in comparing the instruments, and adjusting the sums computed as the value of the several aids.

After sealing, we all embraced with much kindness and applause of my saying upon that occasion, *A Breda comme amis, icy comme freres*; and Monsieur de Witt made me a most obliging compliment, of having the honour which never any other minister had before me, of drawing the states to a resolution and conclusion within five days, upon a matter of  
the

the greatest importance, and a Secours of the greatest expence they had ever engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitutions, which enjoined them recourse to their provinces upon all such occasions, and used to draw out all common deliberations to months delays; and added upon it, That now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

I must add three words to do him right in return of his compliment, that I found him as plain, as direct, and square in the course of this business, as any man could be; though often stiff in points where he thought any advantage could accrue to his country; and have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with him; and for his industry, no man had ever more. I am sure, for these five days at least, neither of us spent many idle hours, either day or night.

After the conclusion, I received yesterday the visits of all the public ministers in town, except the ambassadors, between whom and envoys extraordinary some difficulties were arisen (they say, here first begun by Sir George Downing) which have in a manner spoiled all commerce.

None of the other failed to rejoice with me upon the conclusion of my business, and to express their adoring his majesty's resolutions, which, in this conjuncture, they say, have given new life to all the courts of Christendom, whose councils were before in the greatest perplexities and disorders that could be.—

They

They say his majesty will have the sole honour of giving either peace to Christendom or a balance to the wars ; and has shewn, that all must follow what he gives a head to. Much more of this kind I hear from all hands, and have no reason to doubt their meaning what they say.

Thus far I have given your lordship the smooth side only of this conclusion, and now you must receive the rough ; for having concerted with the commissioners, that Monsieur de Witt and I should give part of our treaty (all but the separate articles) to the French and Spanish ambassadors. The first we performed this afternoon, the last we intend to-morrow morning.

The French ambassador had been much surprized with our conclusion ; for, upon our first conference with the commissioners, he had said, “ *Tout cela s'en ira en fumée, & que le roy son maitre s'en mocqueroit.* ” The day before our signing, being told we advanced very fast, he replied, “ *Et bien, d'icy à six semaines nous en parlerons ;* ” relying upon the forms of the state to run the circuit of their towns.

Upon our giving him part of the whole business, he replied coldly, that he doubted we had not taken a right way to our end ; that the fourth article of the second instrument was not in terms very proper to be digested by a king of twenty-nine years old, and at the head of eighty thousand men :  
that

that, if we had joined both to desire his master to prolong the offer he had made of a cessation of arms till we propose ; and, withal, not to move his arms further in Flanders, tho' Spain should refuse, we might hope to succeed : but, if we thought to prescribe him laws, and force him to compliance, by leagues between ourselves, or with Spain, though Sweden and the German princes should join with us, he knew his master *Ne flecheroit pas*, and that it would come to a war of forty years. From this he fell warmly on the proceedings of the states ; saying, they knew his master's resolutions upon those two points, neither to prolong the cessation proposed beyond the end of March, nor to desist the pursuit of his conquests with his own arms, in case Spain consented not to his demands within that term. He said, his majesty, not being their ally, might treat and conclude what he pleased, without their offence ; but for the states, who were their nearest ally, to conclude so much to his master's disrespect at least, and without communicating with him, the ambassador, at all during the whole treaty, he must leave it to his master to interpret as he thought fit.— Monsieur de Witt defended their cause, and our intentions, with great phlegm, but great steadiness ; and told me, after he was gone, that this was the least we could expect at first from a Frenchman ; and that I should do well, however, to give his majesty an account of it by the first, that we put ourselves early in posture

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sture to make good what we have said ; and, that, as to the time and degree of our arming, he would consult with the states, and let me know their thoughts, to be communicated to his majesty upon this occasion.

I was in hopes to dispatch this away to-morrow morning, but I shall be hindered till night, by the delay of signing of a separate article with the count de Dona, whereby place is reserved for Sweden to enter as a principal into this treaty ; for I have gone along in the whole business since my coming over, with perfect confidence and concert with the count de Dona, upon his assuring me, his orders were to conform himself to his majesty's resolution in what concerns the two crowns, tho' before he absolutely engages, he expects from the Spaniards, by our intercession, some supplies for payment of his troops, and some other adjustments with the emperor, which will be treated between the several ministers at London under his majesty's influence.

In what I shall sign upon this occasion, together with the states, I confess to your lordship to go beyond my instructions ; but apprehending it to be wholly agreeable to his majesty's intentions, and extremely advantageous to the common ends and affairs, I venture upon this excess, and humbly beg his majesty's pardon if I fail.

Your lordship will be troubled with some postscript to-morrow before I dispatch an express

press with the copies to be ratified by his majesty within a month, though I hope a less time will be taken, those of Holland having undertaken theirs on fifteen days.

I am, &c.

After this, in the succeeding summer, in the year 1668, Sir William Temple returned to Brussels, with a view to prevail with the Spaniards to consent to a peace with France, which was afterwards treated at Aix la Chapelle, whither he was sent ambassador extraordinary and mediator; and with his colleague Sir Leoline Jenkins, after many difficulties and delays, at last brought it to a happy conclusion.

Soon after, he was sent ambassador-extraordinary to the states-general, with instructions, to confirm the triple-alliance, and solicit the emperor and German princes, by their ministers, to enter into it: but the measures of the English court being changed, in September, 1669, he received orders to hasten over into England, where he met at first with a very cool reception, and was pressed to return to the Hague, and make way for a war with Holland; with which, less than two years before, he had been so much applauded for having made so strict an alliance: but he excused himself from having any share in it, and retired to his house at Shene, near Richmond, in Surry: and, in this interval of his leisure  
and

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and retreat, wrote his *Observations on the United Provinces*, and one part of his *Miscellanies*.

About the end of the summer 1673, the king, growing weary of the second Dutch war, resolved to send Sir William Temple to Holland to conclude a peace; but powers having been sent at this time from thence to the marquis de Fresne, the Spanish ambassador at London, Sir William Temple was ordered to treat with him, and in three days concluded the whole affair.

As a reward for this service, he was offered the embassy into Spain; which, for want of his father's consent, who was then old and infirm, he refused; as he did soon after the place of secretary of state, for want of six thousand pounds, which he was to lay down for it, and could not spare.

In June, 1674, he was again sent ambassador to the Hague, and was afterwards one of the ambassadors and mediators in the treaty of Nimeguen. It was during his residence in Holland at this time, that he was the great instrument in securing the religion and liberty of his country, by bringing about a marriage between the prince of Orange, afterwards William III. of glorious memory, and the lady Mary, daughter to James duke of York, and niece to his majesty king Charles II.

This grand affair was concerted by Sir William Temple and the friends of the protestant religion, and was brought to maturity chiefly  
by

## WILLIAM TEMPLE.

by his dexterity in the year 1677, contrary to the will of her royal highness's father, and not very much to the inclination of the king her uncle. In the latter part of this transaction indeed he made use of the assistance of the lord treasurer Danby; since the duke of Leeds, who thought the affair of that happiness and importance to the public, that, afterwards, in print, he declared, 'That he would not suffer that part of his service to be buried in oblivion: yet, that Sir William Temple was, as we have already said, the chief agent in this momentous occurrence, the following letters will evince; which, as matter containing something curious in itself, we shall present to the reader without any further preface or apology.

### To the King.

Hague, April 23. S.N. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

THE day before the prince of Orange left this place, I attended him at Hounslowdyke, upon his own appointment; and telling me several times, That he had something to say to me before he went into the field, and desired it might be there, and at some leisure. When we were alone in the garden, he was  
pleased



pleased to tell me, I would easily believe the instances of the states, and of his friends, as well as the condition of his family, must needs have put him often upon the thoughts of marrying; but he had been still in hopes, that the conclusion of a peace would have made way for it sooner than he now thought it was like to do; for, at present, he did not see when or how that could be brought about, unless your majesty would resolve upon such conditions as you should think fit to have it upon; and so propose them to the parties, who were otherwise too distant in their pretensions to agree easily themselves. That, upon this prospect, he began to think, his marriage could not longer attend upon the motions of the peace, which might be very slow and uncertain; and therefore he would tell me, freely, That he was resolved, in case he returned from this campaign, to neglect no time, or paces, that could be made in the pursuit of it. That, for the person, I might be sure his inclinations would lead him into England, though he did not know what dispositions he should meet with there; and, while the war lasted, it might, on this side, admit of much reflection both from this state and their allies. That, however, he would not go into the field without writing to your majesty and to the duke of what he had so much at heart; and begging the permission, that, immediately after the campaign ended, he might go over  
into

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into England. That he thought this would be necessary, both that he might make his own pursuit himself, in an affair that so nearly concerned him ; and that, by asking leave so early, no time might be lost upon that occasion when the campaign was over. That he had reason to desire this affair might, at present, be managed with all the secrecy that could be ; and therefore was resolved to put the letters concerning it into my hands ; and desired my wife might deliver them both to your majesty and his royal highness, and said that he would take care to send them to me before he went.

This was the sum of his highness's discourse to me when I took leave of him ; and his letters both for your majesty and the duke being some days after come to my hands, I thought it my duty to send them, according to the directions I received from the prince ; and shall leave your majesty to know the rest from his own hand, though I think I have not mistaken any thing of what he said to me upon this occasion. I shall not farther encrease your majesty's present trouble, than by the humble professions of that perfect devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To

## To the Duke of York.

Hague, April 23. S. N. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

WHEN I took leave of the prince of Orange, at his going to the army, he was pleased to tell me the resolutions he had taken of writing to your highness, upon an occasion he had so much at heart; and that he would do it before he went into the field. He said, He was resolved to apply himself directly to your highness in all that concerned it; and to beg your intercession with his majesty, that he might have leave to go over into England immediately after the campaign ended. That he would write to his majesty at the same time to beg his permission. And, because he had reason to desire, that whatever paces he made at present, in this point, might be secret, he was resolved to put his letters into my hands; and desired that my wife, upon her going over, might herself deliver them both to his majesty and your royal highness; I thought it my duty to observe these directions: and having, by the same hand, given his majesty an account of the manner, and circumstance, with which the prince was pleased to enter into these discourses, I shall not presume to trouble  
your

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your highness with the bare repetition of them, nor with any thing more, at present, than the humble professions of the devotion and truth wherewith I am always,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

London, November —, 1677.

S I R,

THO' I do not trouble you often with public news or business, yet I am sensible of having too much neglected it of late, considering what has passed; which I know you will be more pleased with than any you have been entertained with a great while: for I remember how often, and how much, you have desired to see the prince of Orange married here; not only from your good wishes to him, but from your apprehensions of some greater matches that might befall us, and with consequences ill enough to posterity as well as to the present age. I am in a good deal of haste at this present time, and therefore shall sum up a great deal in a little room.

The prince of Orange came to the king at Newmarket, where he was mighty well received both of king and duke. I made the acquaintance there between the prince and my  
lord-

lord-treasurer; and in such a manner as, though they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very soon into confidence.

The prince said not a word to any of them of any thoughts of a wife while they stayed at Newmarket; and told me, No considerations should move him in that affair till he had seen the lady. The day after he saw her here he moved it to the king and duke; and, though he did it with so good a grace that it was very well received, yet, in four or five days treaty, it proved to be intangled in such difficulties, that the prince sent for me one night, and uttering his whole heart, told me, He was resolved to give it over, repenting him from the heart of his journey, and would be gone within two days, and trust God Almighty with what would follow; and so went to bed the most melancholy that ever I saw him in my life. Yet, before eleven o'clock the next morning, the king sent me to him, to let him know, He was resolved on the match, and that it should be done immediately, and in the prince's own way.

Thus far what had passed went no farther than the king, the duke, the prince, the lord-treasurer, and me; but that afternoon it was declared at the foreign committee, and next day at council; you will easily imagine with what general joy. I cannot but tell you, That no man seems to lay it to heart so much as my lord Arlington, having had no part in  
it;

it ; which he could not but take notice of to the prince ; who told me, His compliment to him upon it was, That some things, though they were good in themselves, yet were spoiled by the manner of doing them ; but this was in itself so good, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it.—I am told, he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me ; which I must bear as well as I can : but yet, because you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, That it was not only impossible my lord-treasurer and he should concur in one thing, but he had likewise lost all the prince's confidence and opinion, since his last journey into Holland. Besides, for my own part, I found, these two years past, he could not bear my being so well neither with the prince or with the treasurer ; but endeavoured, by Sir Gabriel Sylvius, to break the first, by steps which the prince acquainted me with ; nor could he hold reproaching me with the last whenever I went to him ; though he himself had first advised me to apply myself to my lord-treasurer all I could, upon my last embassy into Holland ; and though I had ever since told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another ; and my lord-treasurer had been so reasonable as to be contented with it.

Since the marriage, the king and the prince have fallen into the business abroad, and agreed upon the terms of a peace, which the king

will offer to France, and such as they both conclude will secure Flanders. They both agree, that I must of necessity go to Paris immediately upon this errand, and bring a positive answer from that court within a time prefixed. I never undertook any journey more unwillingly, knowing in what opinion I stand already at that court; how deeply they resent the prince's match without their communication, or the least word to their ambassador here; and with how little reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this errand. But the king will absolutely have it, and so I have made all my small preparations, and think to be gone within two days; which is all at present, but to ask your blessing, and assure you of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

## To the Prince of Orange.

London, December 8. 1677.

May it please your Highness,

I SHOULD, by last post, have rejoiced with your highness upon the news of your happy arrival, and upon the resolutions that have been taken here since you went, in those affairs wherein your highness is so deeply concerned; but that my lord-treasurer's letter to you upon  
this

this subject, was so long and so particular, that nothing could be added to it for your highness's information or satisfaction: and therefore I resolved not to trouble you with the same thing by that post, and from so much a worse hand. I suppose my lord-ambassador Hyde will have shewed your highness his instructions, and Mr. secretary's letter upon that occasion; which agreeing so fully with what my lord-treasurer writ, must have left you in no doubt of those resolutions being taken here: and yet I thought your highness would not be dissatisfied to know from me, that I am of opinion they are so; and, which is more, that the duke will go no to so great a height in them as any man, in case France gives them the occasion, by their answer to what Mr. Mountague goes away with to day; and that his highness will absolutely conclude from thence, what their good intentions are or have been to the king.

Though I have this second time excused myself from attending upon your highness, and thereby devolved his majesty's commands upon Mr. Hyde once more, yet, I hope, your highness will pardon me, since I have only reserved myself for the next occasion, which, I expect, will be of more moment, and within a very little time. For the present, I only desire your highness will please to give your answer to what Mr. Hyde carries you, in such manner as may be fully to his majesty's satisfaction; and if you should scruple the doing it to any



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other hand, that you would, at least, do it in a private letter to his majesty's own, which may not go farther than to those hands by which all your highness's concerns have been hitherto transacted.

I hope your highness will think to write particularly to the duke, as well as the king, in acknowledgment and applause of these late resolutions; and my lord-treasurer will deserve it too by the great part he has had in them.

I ask your highness's pardon for the length and confidence of this letter, and your justice in believing me ever what I shall ever be, with a perfect devotion,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

After having performed all these services to the crown and kingdom, in the year 1679, Sir William Temple was again solicited to enter upon the office of secretary of state, but he declined it upon account of the uncertain situation of affairs; at the same time advising the king to form a new council, of which he was appointed one; though afterwards, upon the change of measures at court, and the freedom with which he delivered his opinion, his name was struck out of the council-book.

This

This gave him occasion to send the king word, That he would live the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdoms, but never meddle again with public affairs : — A resolution which he inviolably maintained, spending the remainder of his days at Moor-Park, near Farnham, in Surry, without having the least previous knowledge of the prince of Orange's expedition to England in 1688; and refusing the earnest solicitations of that prince, when he was advanced to the throne, to engage him in his service, and to be secretary of state, though he was often consulted by him in his most secret and important affairs. Indeed it is a common thing for men, who live in the splendor and hurry of courts, sometimes to wish for a retreat, where they may relieve themselves after the fatigue of state and business ; yet they seldom do retire but when they know not how to stay any longer : so that the contempt of a court is, in many men, but a contrivance of self-love to alleviate the mortification of being excluded by undervaluing greatness and those that are in power. On the other hand, nothing is more difficult, to the generality of men, who have enjoyed the pomp and pleasures of a court, than to finish the remainder of their lives in privacy and retirement ; for few persons have so rich a fund in themselves, as to supply and fill up the great chasms which the want of public business and diversion leaves on their minds ; but Sir Wil-

liam Temple had the happiness to escape both these inconveniencies ; and, as his retiring from business was in all appearance voluntary, so his contempt of greatness and splendor was the result of a thorough knowledge of the emptiness and vanity of those glaring objects. He was sensible, that there was little in a court but a perpetual exchange of false friendship, pretended honesty, seeming confidence, and designing gratitude : so that those, who, as Sir William, acted upon a sincere bottom, and gave realities instead of shews, professed themselves as great bubbles as such as gave good money when counterfeit coin passed for current payment.

He had, by long experience, made the estimate of the advantages of a private life above those of a public ; and was thoroughly convinced, That the blessings of innocence, security, meditation, good air, health, and sound sleep, were clearly preferable to the splendor of courts ; considering the slavish attendance, the invidious competitions, servile flattery, and the mortal disappointments that usually attend them. He set the frowns of princes, the envy of those that judge by hearsay, and the innumerable temptations, vices, and excesses of a life of pomp and pleasure, in ballance against the smiles of bounteous nature, the diversion of healthful exercises for the body, and the solid and lasting entertainments of the mind ; and concluded, That he  
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that is a slave in the town, is a kind of petty-prince in the country.

To be very particular in analyzing his works, would be foreign to our purpose ; yet we must not omit mentioning his *Memoirs*, which have not been equalled by any that have writ since him. They are the more useful because they take in the principal parts of the reign of Charles II. and without them we should have but an imperfect account of many particulars in that unequal administration. The second part slipped first into the world, without the knowledge, as it was said, though most believe without the connivance, of the author. They consist not only of many domestic affairs relating to the court of England, but of the principal foreign negotiations began in 1673, and ended in 1678, in the treaty of Nimeguen, and with the general peace of Europe ; all laid open with firmness and impartiality, as well as clearness and simplicity.

The first part was never published at all, but is very well supplied by a great number of letters and public papers ; which sufficiently shews what a vigorous actor Sir William Temple was, how great a statesman he proved, and how much a master of business and politics.

The third part appeared some years after his death ; which, though complained of as being published without consent of relations, was never charged with being the least spurious. This, though shortest in compass, both

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as to time and matters, yet, keeping close to English administration at home, and discovering greater depths of those affairs, we take it to be the most useful and enlightning of the three.

Here are laid open, not only the secret springs of many actions which were generally unknown before, but all the subtle arts and projections of ministers of state, with those various windings and turnings with which strangers are so often perplexed and confounded in court. Here the dispositions and aims of some great men, as the lord Shaftsbury, Essex, &c. are so effectually, as well as handsomely exposed, that many of one party are willing to have the credit of it called in question: but, as it has long stood, so no doubt but it will continue to stand, the test against all opponents.

We shall say nothing further of his writings, but only observe, that, when the reader comes to peruse the whole, he will readily form to himself the general character of an accomplished gentleman, a penetrating politician, a wise patriot, and a learned man: and, if this great idea should be really shaded by some touches of vanity and the spleen, he may easily consider that the greatest and wisest men have not always been exempt from those very failings and imperfections; and that the former might arise from some peculiar excellencies in his character; and the latter from some uncommon provocations of those who differed  
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from him either in politicks or in learning ; and in both, perhaps, without his being the aggressor.

In the latter case, we think he was too hardly, if not too designedly, attacked, first by Mr. Wotton, and then by Dr. Bentley ; and, that he was treated after a too rigid manner, and too scholastical and critical a way, for a gentleman of his refined genius and superior education, and one who was so ready to oblige the public in an easy, free, and beautiful way of delivering his thoughts and sentiments.

This a little raised his indignation, and forced him to say, in his answer, 'That the critics are a race of scholars I am very little acquainted with; having always esteemed them but like brokers, who, having no stock of their own, set up and trade with that of other men ; buying here, and selling there, and commonly abusing all sides, to make out a little paltry gain, either of money or credit, for themselves, and care not at whose cost.

Then, after acknowledging the usefulness of such persons at the first restoration of learning, and the copies after the antients, he could but look upon the latter sort as a degenerate race ; and was provoked to declare,

" There is, I think, no sort of talent so despicable as that of such common critics who can, at best, pretend to value themselves by discovering the defaults of other men, rather than any worth or merit of their own : a sort

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of levellers, that will needs equal the best and richest of the country, not by improving their own estates, but reducing those of their neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves."

In 1694, he had the misfortune to lose his lady, who was eminent for the highest accomplishments, and particularly esteemed by queen Mary, with whom she had the honour to keep a constant correspondence by letters, in which she had an admirable turn of wit, and a peculiar elegance and beauty of expression.

Sir William survived her four years, and died in January, 1698, in his seventieth year, at Moor-Park; where, according to the plain directions in his will, his heart was deposited in a silver box, and buried under the fun-dial in his garden, opposite to the window from whence he used to contemplate and admire the glorious works of nature, with his beloved sister, the ingenious lady Giffard; a lady who, as she had shared and relieved the fatigues of his voyages and travels during his public negotiations, so she was the principal delight and comfort of his last retirement and old age.

His character is given by Dr. Burch as follows :

" He had an extraordinary vivacity, with so agreeable a vein of wit and fancy in his conversation, that no body was welcomer in all sorts of company; but his humour was greatly affected by the spleen in sudden changes  
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of weather, and especially from the crosses and disappointments which he so often met with in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and service of his country.

He was an exact observer of truth, thinking none, who had failed once, ought ever to be trusted again; of great humanity and good nature; his passions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reason.

“ He never seemed busy in his greatest employments, was devoted to his liberty, and therefore averse to the servitude of courts. He had been a passionate lover, was a kind husband, an indulgent father, a good master, an excellent friend, and, knowing himself to be so, was impatient of the least suspicion or jealousy from those he loved.

“ He was not without strong aversions, so as to be uneasy at the first sight of some whom he disliked, and impatient of their conversation; apt to be warm in disputes and expostulations, which made him hate the one and avoid the other; being used to say, That they might sometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends.

“ He had a very familiar way of conversing with all sorts of people, from the greatest princes, to the meanest servants, and even children, whose imperfect language, and natural innocent talk, he was fond of, and made entertainment of every thing that could afford it.



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“ He was born to a moderate estate, and did not much encrease it during his employments.

“ His religion was that of the church of England, in which he was born and educated ; and, how loose soever bishop Burnet, who was not acquainted with him, in the History of his own Time, represents his principles to have been ; yet there is no ground for such a reflection given in his writings ; among which his excellent letter to the countess of Essex is a convincing proof both of his piety and eloquence.

He was rather tall in stature ; his shape, when young, very exact ; his hair dark brown, and curled naturally ; and, whilst that was esteemed a beauty, no body had it in greater perfection : his eyes grey, but lively ; and his body lean, but extremely active ; so that none acquitted themselves better at all exercises.







*M<sup>re</sup> Robert Boyle.*

## THE LIFE OF

## ROBERT BOYLE.

**R**OBERT BOYLE was a man superior to titles, and almost to praise; illustrious by birth, by learning, and by virtue; but most so as the author and encourager of the New Philosophy; by which he has not only rendered his memory immortal, but has also derived honour to his country; which, perhaps, is the greatest felicity that human abilities can ever attain.

He was the seventh son, and the fourteenth child, of Richard, earl of Cork. He was born at Lismore, in the county of Cork, and province of Munster, in the kingdom of Ireland, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1626-7; and, though he was the only one of his father's sons who attained to manhood without being honoured with a title, and also the only one who did not distinguish himself in public business; yet his life deserves to be written with the utmost accuracy; and no pains can be too great to fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is possible.

His father, who was very justly styled the Great, and might, with equal propriety, have been called the Wise, earl of Cork, committed

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mitted him to the care of a country nurse, with instructions to bring him up as hardy as if he had been her own son; which she pursued, and thereby gave him a strong and vigorous constitution, that he afterwards lost by being treated with too great tenderness.

When he was about three years old, he had the misfortune to lose his mother; for which he shews great regret, in some memoirs that he has left us of the more early part of his life, esteeming it a singular unhappiness never to have seen one of his parents so as to remember her; and the more so, from the character he heard of her in her own family, and from all who knew her.

Another accident happened to him while at nurse, which gave him no small trouble as long as he lived, and that was, his learning to stammer, by mocking some children of his own age, and of which, tho' no endeavours were spared, he could never be perfectly cured.

His father sent for him home when he was towards seven years old; and, not long after, in a journey to Dublin, he ran a very great risk of losing his life, if one of his father's gentlemen had not taken him out of a coach, that, in passing a brook, raised by some sudden showers, was carried away by the stream and beat to pieces.

While at home, he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to speak French and Latin, by one of the earl's chaplains, and a Frenchman that he kept in the house.

In the year 1635, when he was turned of eight years old, his father thought fit to send him to England, in order to his education at Eaton, under Sir Henry Wotton, the earl of Cork's old acquaintance and friend. With this view, in company with Mr. Francis Boyle, his elder brother, afterwards lord Shannon, he set out for Youghall, and from thence, not without great danger of being taken by some of the Turkish pirates that then infested the Irish coast, he crossed the seas to England, and landed happily at Bristol.

On his arrival at Eaton, he was put under the care of Mr. Harrison, then master of the school; of whose attention for, and kindness towards, him, he makes very honourable mention in his Memoirs; and observes, That it was chiefly by the prudent methods he pursued, that he came to have that taste and relish for learning, for which, even in the earlier part of his life, he grew so remarkable. While he remained at Eaton, there were several extraordinary accidents that befel him, of which he has given us an account, and which one would scarce think it possible he should have remembered so distinctly, considering they happened before he was nine years old, if the letters that he wrote about that time were not still preserved; which sufficiently demonstrates how capable he was of collecting and preserving what ever appeared to him worthy of notice, even in the time of his childhood, so  
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that we may well believe what he relates of his own care in this respect, from the testimonies that still remain of his having a wit so much superior to his years.

He remained at Eaton, in the whole, between three and four years; and then his father carried him to his own seat, at Stalbridge in Dorsetshire; where he remained, for some time, under the care of Mr. William Douch, then parson of the place, and one of the earl of Cork's chaplains.

In the autumn of the year 1638 he attended his father to London, and remained with him, at the Savoy, till his brother, Mr. Francis Boyle, espoused Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew; and then, towards the end of the month of October, within four days after the marriage was celebrated, the two brothers, Francis and Robert, were sent abroad upon their travels, under the care of Mr. Marcombes, who had formerly been governor to the lords Kincameaky and Broghill.

They embarked at Rye, in Sussex, and from thence proceeded to Dieppe, in Normandy; from whence they travelled by land to Rouen, so to Paris, and from thence to Lyons; from which city they continued their journey to Geneva, where his governor had a family; and there the two young gentlemen pursued their studies quietly and without interruption. Mr. Boyle, during his stay here, resumed his acquaintance with the mathematics, or, at least,  
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with the elements of that science, of which he had first obtained some knowledge at Eaton.

He was now drawing towards fourteen, and his temper being naturally very grave and serious, his thoughts were often turned on religious subjects, but, however, not without some mixture of doubts and difficulties, as himself acknowledges, about the certainty of the Christian revelation. This, instead of having any bad effects, was productive of very good consequences; he examined coolly and circumstantially the evidence in favour of the the Gospel, and concluded, by dint of reasoning, that this was the only certain and sure way to salvation.

We might possibly suspect the truth of this, considering his youth, and the little care that persons at such years take, or indeed are capable of taking, in matters of so great importance; but it so falls out, that we have an original letter of his, written at this time to his father; which plainly proves that his capacity was, even at that early season, very capable of such arduous enquiries.

While he remained at Geneva, he made some excursions to visit the adjacent country of Savoy; and even proceeded so far as to Grenoble, in Dauphine, and took a view also of those wild mountains, where Bruno, the first author of the Carthusian monks lived in solitude, at the time he erected that order.



In September, 1641, he quitted Geneva, and, passing through Switzerland and the country of the Grisons, entered Lombardy, and, taking his rout through Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, arrived at Venice, and, having made a short stay there, returned to the Continent, and spent the winter at Florence; and, during his stay in that city, the famous Galileo died at a village not far from thence.

While he resided in this fair city, he had an opportunity of acquiring the Italian language, which he understood perfectly, though he never spoke it so fluently as the French, of which he became so great a master, that, as occasion required, he passed for a native of the country in more places than one during his travels.

About the end of March, he began his journey from Florence to Rome, which took up but five days; and, after having surveyed that famous city, the heats disagreeing with his brother, he returned to Florence, from thence to Leghorn, and so by sea to Genoa. He made but a short stay there, and then passing through the county of Nice, crossed the sea to Antibes, from whence he went to Marseilles by land.

He was in that city in the month of May, 1642, when he received his father's letters, with a dreadful account of the rebellion just then broke out in Ireland; and advice, likewise, that, with great difficulty, his lordship had procured two hundred and fifty pounds.  
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which he remitted his sons to enable them to return home ; but of this money they never saw a farthing ; for, being put into the hands of one Mr. Perkins, a considerable trader in the city of London, he proved unfaithful to his trust ; which drove these two noble youths to the utmost distress, till, with much ado, their governor, Mr. Marcombes, supplied them with as much as brought them to Geneva, where they continued with him for some time ; and, having neither supplies nor advices from England, he was obliged, in order to enable them to go home, to take up some jewels on his own credit, which they disposed of with as little loss as might be, and, with the money thus produced, continued their journey for England, where they arrived in the year 1644.

On his arrival there he found his father dead ; and, though he had made an ample provision for him, as well by leaving him his manor of Stalbridge, in England, as other considerable estates in Ireland, yet it was some time before he could receive any money.

During this space he lodged with his sister, the lady Ranelagh ; and, by her interest, and that of his brother lord Broghill, he procured protections for his estates in England and Ireland from those who had the power then in their hands. He also obtained their leave to go over, for a short space, into France ; probably that he might have an opportunity of

settling his accounts with his good old governor and constant friend Mr. Marcombes ; but he did not stay long abroad, since we find him, the December following, at Cambridge.

In the month of March, 1646, he retired to his own seat at Stalbridge ; from whence he made various excursions, sometimes to London, sometimes to Oxford, applying himself as assiduously to his studies as his own circumstances, or those of the times, would permit ; and indeed it is very amazing to find, what a prodigious progress he made, not only in many branches of literature, but in some that have been always held the most difficult and abstruse. He omitted no opportunity of obtaining the acquaintance of persons distinguished for parts and learning ; to whom he was, in every respect, a ready, useful, and generous assistant ; and with whom he maintained a constant correspondence. He was also one of the first members of that small but learned body, which held its first meetings at London, then removed to Oxford, styled by him, the Invisible, by themselves, the Philosophical College ; and which, after the restoration, were incorporated and distinguished, as they well deserved, by the title of the Royal Society.

It is no small honour to this worthy person, that, when he was so young a man, his merit, and knowledge gained him admittance amongst persons, the most distinguished for the  
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acuteness of their understandings, and the singularity, as well as extent, of their science. The great diligence and application of Mr. Boyle, was so much the more to be esteemed and commended, as, at this time, his health was very much disordered by frequent fits of the stone, a disease to which he was extremely subject, and to which his sedentary life and close application to his studies, might possibly contribute. But, notwithstanding this, and the frequent occasions he had to remove from place to place, sometimes on the score of business, at others to visit his many noble relations; yet he never suffered his thoughts to be disordered, or the designs he had formed to be broken or interrupted by any of these accidents, as appears by his having compleated three regular and excellent pieces before he had reached the age of twenty: viz. his *Seraphic Love*; his *Essay on Mistaken Modesty*; and the *Sweater silenced*; to which he afterwards gave the title that it now bears, of *A Free Discourse against customary Swearing*. Besides these, it plainly appears, as well from the writings he has published, as from many of his private letters, that he had made large collections upon other subjects, from some of which he afterwards drew distinct treatises.

The retired course of life, which, for the sake of his health, from the bent of his temper, and from the nature of his designs, he took a pleasure to lead, could not hinder his reputation from rising to such a height as made him

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him taken notice of by some of the most eminent members of the republic of letters ; so that, in 1651, we find Dr. Nathaniel Highmore, a very eminent physician, dedicating to him his History of Generation ; in which dedication he styles him both his patron and his friend.

In 1652, he went over to Ireland, in order to visit and settle his estates in that kingdom ; and there, if I am not mistaken, he met with a fall from his horse in a watery place, which gave him a very grievous fit of sickness. He returned from Ireland to England in August, 1653, but was soon after obliged to return again into that kingdom, where he spent his time but very unpleasantly ; and it would have been still more so, if it had not been for the acquaintance of Dr. Petty, afterwards Sir William Petty, who was his intimate friend, and one of the greatest men of that or indeed of any other age.

In the summer of 1654, he returned to England, and put in execution a design he had formed when he was last in this kingdom, of settling at Oxford, as well for the sake of several of his ingenious friends, who resided there, as for the many and extraordinary conveniences which the place afforded, for the prosecution of his beloved studies in peace. He chose to live there, in the house of Mr. Crosse, an apothecary, rather than in a college, for the sake of his health, and because he had more room for making experiments.

It was now that he found himself surrounded by a number of learned friends, who resorted thither chiefly for the same reasons that he had done, the Invisible College, as he called it, or Philosophical Society, being now transferred from London to Oxford. It was during his residence here, that he invented the air-pump, which was perfected for him, by the ingenious Mr. Hooke, in the year 1658 or 1659; by the help of which he made such experiments as enabled him to discover and demonstrate several qualities of the air, by which he laid the foundations for a complete theory.

He was not, however, satisfied with this, but laboured incessantly in collecting and digesting, chiefly from his own experiments, the materials requisite for this purpose. He declared against the philosophy of Aristotle, as having in it more of words than things, promising much and performing little; in short, giving the inventions of men for indubitable proofs, instead of the result of such enquiries as draw the knowledge of the works of nature from nature herself.

He was so careful in, and so zealous for, the true method of learning by experiment, that, though the Cartesian philosophy made then a great noise in the world, yet he would never be persuaded to read the works of Des Cartes, for fear he should be amused and led away with a fair pretence of reasoning, and  
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plausible accounts of things grounded purely on conjecture.

But philosophy and enquiries into nature, though they engaged his attention deeply, did not occupy it entirely, since we find that he still continued to pursue his critical studies, in which he had the assistance of some as great men as have ever flourished in this kingdom, particularly Dr. Edward Pococke, Mr. Thomas Hyde, and Mr. Samuel Clark. He had also a strict intimacy with Dr. Thomas Barlow, at that time head keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, a man of various and extensive learning. He was likewise the patron of the very learned Dr. John Pell, an eminent mathematician; and the famous Dr. John Wallis, who distinguished himself in that and other branches of learning, did him the honour to dedicate to him his excellent treatise on the Cycloid.

In 1659, being acquainted with the circumstances of the learned Dr. Robert Sanderson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, he bestowed on him a stipend of fifty pounds a year; and that great man thankfully acknowledged the obligations he was under to so generous a patron, in a dedication of his Lectures, which were printed at Oxford the same year.

After the restoration, he was treated with great civility and respect by the king, and with much affection and esteem by his two great ministers, the lord-treasurer Southampton, and the lord-chancellor Clarendon, by whom

whom he was pressed to enter into holy orders, of which he had very serious thoughts, but at last thought fit to decline it, upon very just and disinterested motives. The same year he published two of his first pieces, one of which was printed at Oxford, and the other at London; the former was his *New Experiments touching the spring of the air*, which he addressed to his nephew the lord Dungarvan, and this drew him into a controversy with Franciscus Linus, and the famous Mr. Thomas Hobbes, whose objections he refuted with equal candour, clearness, and civility. The second was his discourse on *Seraphic Love*, and both pieces were received with universal applause. The fame of his great learning and abilities extended itself, even at this time, beyond the bounds of our island, so that the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a prince distinguished for learning, desired Mr. Southwell, then Resident at Florence, to acquaint Mr. Boyle with his desire of holding a correspondence with him.

In 1661, he published his *Physiological Essays*, and other tracts, which added greatly to the esteem, that all true lovers of learning had for his knowledge in things of this nature. Some time after he sent abroad another curious and excellent work, intitled, *The Sceptical Chymist*, which was printed at Oxford; but several treatises that are mentioned in this and the former work, as being in great forwardness, and which the world very im-



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patiently expected, were afterwards lost in the hurry of removing his effects at the time of the great fire.

In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in the kingdom of Ireland, was obtained from the king in Mr. Boyle's name, tho' without his knowledge, which did not hinder his interesting himself very warmly, for procuring the application of these impropriations, to the promoting true religion and learning. He interposed likewise in favour of the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England, and was very instrumental in obtaining a decree in the court of Chancery, for restoring to that corporation an estate, which had been injuriously repossessed by one colonel Bedingsfield, a papist, who had sold it to them for a valuable consideration. His activity in matters of this nature was so much the more honourable, as he was naturally inclined to, and, generally speaking, followed that inclination in leading a private and retired life. But whenever the cause of virtue, learning, or religion required it, his interest and endeavours were never wanting, and, by the peculiar blessing of providence, were seldom employed but with success.

In 1663 the Royal Society being incorporated by king Charles II. by letters patent dated the twenty-second of April, Mr. Boyle was appointed one of the council, and as he might be justly reckoned among the founders of that learned body, so he continued one of  
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its most useful and industrious members, during the whole course of his life. In the month of June 1663, he published his *Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy*, which consisted of several essays on useful and curious subjects, in which they are handled with great freedom, from a just zeal for truth, and for the common benefit of mankind, the points which he had always in view when he took his pen in hand. These pieces, thus published, were, as himself tells us, written on several occasions, to several persons, and at different times; but notwithstanding this, they had a mutual relation to each other, which made them fall very aptly under one common title, he took this method of sending them abroad, that the world in general might receive that satisfaction, which particular friends had testified on the perusal of them in writing. These were followed by *Experiments and Considerations upon Colours*, to which was added, a letter, containing *Observations upon a diamond that shines in the dark*, a treatise full of curious and useful remarks, on the hitherto unexplained doctrine of light and colours; in which he shews great judgment, accuracy, and penetration, and may be said to have led the way to that mighty genius, who has since set that important point in the clearest and most convincing light possible.

He likewise published this year his *Considerations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures*,

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which was extracted from a much larger work, intituled, An Essay on Scripture, that was afterwards published by P. P. A. G. F. L. that is, Peter Pett, Attorney-General for Ireland, afterwards Sir Peter Pett, a man of great reading, a voluminous writer, but of an unsettled judgment, for whom, on account of his well-meaning and upright intention, Mr. Boyle had a great regard.

In 1664 Mr. Boyle was elected into the company of Royal Mines, and was all this year taken up in the prosecution of various good designs, and more especially in promoting the affairs of the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England, which, in all probability, was the reason that he did not send abroad this year any treatises, either of religion or philosophy.

In 1665 came abroad his Occasional Reflections upon several Subjects, to which is prefixed, A Discourse concerning the Nature and Use of such Kind of Writings. This piece, tho' now published, had been written many years before, when the author was a young man, at times, and under circumstances, when few would have written any thing, and none could have written better. The attack made upon it, therefore, by a ludicrous writer, may be truly affirmed to be as cruel and unjust, as it is trivial and indecent. A short time after he published Experiments and Observations relative to an Experimental History of Gold, with several pieces thereunto

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## ROBERT BOYLE. FOR

annexed. This work of his, as it was justly admired then, so it has been always in great esteem since, and may be truly said to have been the first work published, that gave inquisitive men any real light into the subjects which are therein examined.

His majesty king Charles II. had now an opportunity of shewing his own great judgment in men, from his esteem and affection towards Mr. Boyle, for Dr. John Meredith, Provost of Eton, dying in August 1665, the king, unasked and unsolicited, appointed Mr. Boyle for his successor. This was certainly, all circumstances considered, the fittest employment for him in the kingdom; yet, after mature deliberation, tho' contrary to the advice of his friends, he absolutely declined it, because he thought the duties of the employment might interfere with his studies; he was unwilling to quit that course of life, which, by experience, he found so suitable to his temper and constitution; and, above all, he was unwilling to enter into holy orders, which he was persuaded was necessary to qualify himself for it.

In this year, and in the next, he was pretty much exercised in looking into an affair that made a very great noise in the world, and the decision of which, from the high reputation he had gained, was in a manner universally expected from Mr. Boyle. The case was this, one Mr. Valentine Greatraks, an Irish gentleman, persuaded himself that he had a

peculiar gift of curing diseases by stroking, in which, tho' he certainly succeeded often, yet he sometimes failed, and this occasioned a great controversy, in which most of the parties concerned addressed themselves to Mr. Boyle, who conducted himself with such wisdom and prudence, as to get out of this affair without any loss of credit, which, all things considered, cannot but be esteemed a very high proof of his wisdom.

In 1666 Dr. John Wallis addressed to Mr. Boyle An Hypothesis about the Flux and Reflux of the Sea. The famous physician, Dr. Thomas Sydenham, dedicated to him, in the same year, his Method of curing Fevers, grounded upon his own Observations, a little piece, written in Latin, and truly worthy of so great a man. Himself likewise published that year, his Hydrostatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments, for the most part physical and easy, which he sent abroad at the request of the Royal Society, those experiments having been made at their desire about two years before. He also published that year another celebrated treatise of his, intitled, The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuscular Philosophy, illustrated by Experiments; a treatise which did equal honour to the quickness of his wit, the depth of his judgment, and his indefatigable pains in searching after truth.

We must likewise observe, that both in this, and in the former year, he communicated

tated to his friend, Mr. Oldenburgh, several curious and excellent short treatises of his, upon a great variety of subjects, and others transmitted to him by his learned friends both at home and abroad, which are printed and preserved in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.

It is very observable, that in the warm controversy raised in relation to that society, Mr. Boyle escaped all censure, which is more extraordinary, considering that Mr. Stubbe, who was the great antagonist of the learned historian of that society, was one who set no bounds to his rage, and seemed to make it a point, to raise his resentment in proportion, as there wanted grounds for it. Yet even this choleric and furious writer had so high an esteem for Mr. Boyle, that at the very time he fell upon the society in a manner so excusable, he failed not to write frequently to our author, in order to convince him, that how angry soever he might be with that body of men, yet he preserved a just respect for his great learning and abilities, and a true sense of the many favours he had conferred upon him.

About this time our author resolved to settle himself for life in London, and removed for that purpose to the house of his sister, the lady Ranelagh, in Pall-Mall, to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and particularly to the advantage of the Royal Society, to whom he gave great and continual assistance.

He had likewise his set hours for receiving such as came, either to desire his help, or to communicate to him any new discoveries in science. Besides which, he kept a very extensive correspondence with persons of the greatest figure, and most famous for learning in all parts of Europe.

In 1669 he published his Continuation of new Experiments, touching the Spring and Weight of the air; to which is added, A Discourse of the Atmospheres of Consistent Bodies; and the same year he revised, and made many additions to several of his former tracts, some of which were now translated into Latin, in order to gratify the curious abroad, with whom Mr. Boyle stood in as high reputation, as with all the lovers of learning at home. In the succeeding year he published a book that occasioned much speculation, as it seemed to contain a vast treasure of new knowledge, that had never been communicated to the world before, and this grounded upon actual experiments and arguments justly drawn from them, instead of that notional and conjectural philosophy, which, in the beginning of this century, had been so much in fashion. The title of this treatise was, *Of the Cosmical Qualities of Things*.

About this time Dr. Peter de Moulin, the son of the famous French divine of the same name, who had travelled with Mr. Boyle's nephews, dedicated to him his Collection of

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Latin Poems, But in the midst of his studies, and other useful employments, he was attacked by a severe paralytic distemper, of which, tho' not without great difficulty, he got the better, by adhering strictly to a proper regimen.

In 1671 he published *Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental and Natural Philosophy*, the second Part; as also, A Collection of Tracts upon several useful and important Points of Practical Philosophy, both which works were received as new and valuable gifts to the learned world. In 1672 came abroad his *Essay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems*, in which, according to his usual custom, he treated an old and beaten subject in a very new and useful manner; so that it may be truly said, that he not only threw an additional light upon a very dark and difficult subject, but also pointed out the only certain method of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the nature and virtues (if any such there be) of all kinds of precious stones. He published also, the same year, another Collection of Tracts, touching the Relation between Flame and Air and several other useful and curious subjects, besides furnishing in this, and in the former year, a great number of short Dissertations upon a vast variety of topics, addressed to the Royal Society, and inserted in their Transactions.



In the year 1673 he sent abroad his *Essays* on the strange Subtilty, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia; to which were added, Variety of Experiments on other Subjects. The same year Anthony Le Grand dedicated to him his *History of Nature*, which he published in Latin: and in this dedication the author gives a large account of the great reputation which Mr. Boyle had acquired in foreign parts. In 1674 Mr. Boyle published *A Collection of Tracts on the Saltneſs of the Sea, the Moiſture of the Air, the natural and preternatural State of Bodies.* to which he prefixed, *A Dialogue concerning Cold.*

In the ſame year he ſent abroad a piece that had been written near ten years before, intituled, *The Excellency of Theology compared with the Natural Philoſophy, in an Epistolary Diſcourſe to a Friend.* This treatiſe, in which are contained a multitude of curious and uſeful, as well as juſt and natural, obſervations, was written in the time of the great plague, when the author was forced to go from place to place in the country, and had little or no opportunity of conſulting his books. He alſo communicated to the world, the ſame year, another *Collection of Tracts*, comprehending ſome *Suſpicions about hidden Qualities of the Air, Animadverſions upon M. Hobbes's Problem about a Vacuum, A Diſcourſe of the Cauſe of Attraction by Suc-tion*; in which ſeveral pieces, as there are ma-  
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ny new discoveries made, so several old errors, and groundless notions, are refuted and exploded.

In 1675 he printed *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion*, by T. E. a Layman; to which was annexed, *A Discourse about the Possibility of the Resurrection*, by Mr. Boyle. The reader will observe, that the former, as well as the latter, was of his writing, only he thought fit to mark that with the final letters of his name, and tho' the first of these discourses promises a second part, that however, was not published. Amongst other pieces that he this year communicated to the Royal Society, there were two papers connected into one discourse, that deserve particular notice; the former was intitled, *An Experimental Discourse of Quicksilver growing hot with Cold*; the other related to the same subject, both of them containing discoveries worthy of so great a man, and facts that only on his credit could be believed.

In 1676 Mr. Boyle published his *Experiments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities*, by several discourses on a great variety of subjects, and, amongst the rest, he treats very largely, and, according to his wonted method, very accurately, of Electricity. He had been for many years a Director of the East-India company, and very useful in this capacity to that great bo-

dy, more especially in procuring their charters; and the only return he expected for his labour in this respect, was, the engaging the Company to come to some resolution in favour of the propagation of the gospel, by means of their flourishing factories in that part of the world; and, as a proof of his own inclination to contribute, as far as in him lay; for that purpose, he caused five hundred copies of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, in the Malayan tongue, to be printed at Oxford, and sent abroad at his own expense, as appears from the Dedication prefixed by his friend Dr. Thomas Hyde, to that translation, which was published under his direction.

There came abroad, the same year, a Miscellaneous Collection of his Works in Latin, printed at Geneva, but without his knowledge, of which there is a large account given in the Philosophical Transactions. In 1678 he communicated to Mr. Hooke, afterwards Dr. Hooke, the short Memorial of some Observations made upon an artificial Substance that shines without any preceding Illustration, which that gentleman thought fit to make public. He published, in the same year, his Historical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-Elizir. This made a very great noise both at home and abroad, and is looked upon as one of the most remarkable pieces that ever fell from his pen, the facts contained in which would have been esteemed in-

incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other.

In the year 1680 he sent into the world the following tracts, viz. *The Aerial Noctiluca*, and a Process of a factitious self-shining Substance; besides which, he published also some small discourses upon different subjects. It was upon the thirtieth of November, in this year, that the Royal Society, as a proof of their just sense of his great worth, and of the constant and particular services, which, through the course of many years, he had rendered to their Society, made choice of him for their President; but he being extremely, and, as himself says, peculiarly tender in point of oaths, declined the honour done him, by a letter addressed to Mr. Professor Hooke of Gresham-college. He was also, within the compass of this year, a considerable benefactor towards the publishing Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation, as he very readily was, on the like occasion, to every performance calculated for the general use and benefit of mankind.

In 1681, he published his Discourse of Things above Reason; and the same year he was engaged in endeavouring to promote the preaching and promulgation of the Gospel amongst the Indians bordering upon New-England. In 1682, came out his *New Experiments and Observations upon the Icy Noctiluca*; to which is added, *A Chymical Paradox*, making it probable that their Principles  
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are transmutable, so that out of one of them others may be produced. The same year, he communicated to the public, The Second Part of his Continuation of New Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix, containing several other discourses.

He published, in 1683. nothing that I find, except a short letter to the reverend Dr. John Beale, in relation to the making fresh water out of salt, published at the request of the patentees, who were embarked in Mr. Fitzgerald's project for that purpose, the proposals for which were addressed to Mr. Boyle; and the author acknowledges therein the obligations he was under to him for his assistance.

In the succeeding year, 1684, he printed two very considerable works. The first was, his Memoirs for the Natural History of Human Blood; and his second, Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies, divided into two parts; the first relating to animals, the second to solid bodies: and his works being now grown to a very considerable bulk, the celebrated Dr. Ralph Cudworth, whose praise alone was sufficient to establish any man's title to fame, wrote to him in very pressing terms, to make an entire collection of his several treatises, and to publish them in a body, and in the Latin tongue, in his own life-time, as well out of regard to his reputation, as to the general interest of mankind,  
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and the peculiar satisfaction to the learned world.

In 1685, he obliged the world with his Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of Mineral Waters, with Directions as to the several Methods of trying them, including abundance of new and useful Remarks, as well as several curious Experiments. He gave the world also, in the same year, another excellent work, entitled, An Essay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion; with an Appendix, containing an Experimental Discourse of some hitherto little regarded Causes, of the Insalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and it's Effects; than which none of his treatises were ever received with greater or more general applause. He published, in the same year, A Dissertation on the Reconcilableness of Specific Medicines to the Corpuscular Philosophy; to which is added, A Discourse of the Advantages attending the Use of Simple Medicines. To these Philosophical, he added a most excellent Theological Discourse, Of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wisdom and Power; being a part of a much larger work, which he signified to the world, to prevent any exception from being taken at the abrupt manner of its beginning.

At the entrance of the succeeding year, 1686, came abroad his Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of Nature; one of the most important and useful pieces that ever fell from his pen; and which will be always  
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admired and esteemed by such as have a true zeal for religion and intelligible philosophy. In the month of June, the same year, his friend Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards lord-bishop of Sarum, transmitted to him from Holland, his account of his travels through France, Switzerland, and Italy; which were afterwards published.

In 1687, a work which he had drawn up in his youth, entitled, *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Dydimia*, came from the press to the hands of the public. In 1688, he obliged the world with a most curious and useful treatise, entitled, *A Disquisition into the final Causes of Natural Things*; and whether, if at all, with what Caution a Naturalist should admit them. To which is added, *An Appendix about vitiated Sight*. In this piece he treats, with great judgment and perspicuity, many of the deepest and most abstracted notions in Philosophy and Religion, so as to give satisfaction to the candid, without running into any offensive notions, in the opinion even of the most critical reader; which is a felicity, that, in cases of this nature, has very rarely attended the writings of any other author than Mr. Boyle; whose care was equal to his quickness, and whose caution hindered him from hazarding any thing that might shock weak minds, or tender consciences. In the month of May, this year, our author, however unwillingly, was con-

constrained to make his complaint to the public of some inconveniences under which he had long laboured ; which he did by an advertisement addressed to J. W. to be communicated to such of his friends as were virtuous, to inform them of the loss of many of his writings, and that it might serve as an explanatory preface to some of his mutilated and unfinished pieces.

One cannot well conceive any thing that gives a higher or more expressive notion of the worth and excellency of this great man, than this paper, which, had it come from any other person, would have been either regarded as a common and trivial advertisement, or as a very glaring mark of self-conceit and vanity ; but, in reference to Mr. Boyle, it appears so necessary to himself, that it could not be omitted ; of such importance to the public, that it cannot be forgot ; and so cautiously digested, as to raise our admiration and esteem for its author.

He began now to find that his health, notwithstanding all his care and caution, began sensibly to decline, and his strength to decay ; which put him upon devising every method that was possible for husbanding his time, for the future, for the benefit of the learned world. In doing this, he preferred generals to particulars ; and the assistance of the whole republic of letters, to that of any branch, by what ties soever he might be connected therewith.



It was from this view, that he no longer communicated particular discourses, or new discoveries, to the royal society, because this could not be done without withdrawing his thoughts from tasks which he thought of still greater importance. It was the more steadily to attend these, that he resigned his post of governor of the corporation for propagating the Gospel in New-England; nay, he went so far as to signify to the world, that he could no longer receive visits as usual; and all this, that he might have leisure to put his papers in order; to supply the blanks he had left in many of his treatises, and to repair the deficiencies in others occasioned by the falling upon them of corrosive liquors; that, as he had been useful to the public during the whole course of his life, so the vast collections he left behind him, of the importance of which he was the best judge, might not prove useless after his decease. This was certainly an instance of learned patriotism, worthy of admiration at least, and, if such a genius should ever arise again, of imitation.

Among the other great works which, by this means, he gained time to finish, there is great reason to believe, that one was A Collection of Elaborate Processes in Chemistry; concerning which he wrote a letter to a friend which is still extant, but the piece itself was never published, nor some other curious tracts relating to the same subject, found amongst his papers; which has been considered as an irrepara-

irreparable loss to such as have a fondness for these kind of studies.

In 1690, he published his *Medecina Hydrostatica*: or, Hydrostatics applied to the *Materia Medica*: shewing how, by the Weight that divers Bodies used in Physic have in Water, one may discover whether they be genuine or adulterate. To which is subjoined, A previous Hydrostatical Way of estimating Ores. He informs us, in the postscript of this treatise, that he had prepared materials sufficient for a second volume, which he promised, but it never appeared. He published, however, this year, another most excellent work, which bore the following title: *The Christian Virtuoso*; shewing, that, by being addicted to Experimental Philosophy, a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian. The first Part. To which are subjoined, I. A Discourse about the distinction that represents some things as above reason, but not contrary to reason. II. The first Chapters of a Discourse, entitled, *Greatness of Mind promoted by Christianity*. In the advertisement prefixed to this work, he mentions A Second Part of the *Christian Virtuoso*; which he had begun, and which is actually published in the last edition of his works; that is to say, imperfect, as he left it, with an Appendix to the first part.

He communicated, about this time, to Mr. De la Crosse, a very ingenious gentleman, who published

published a periodical work, entitled, *The History of Learning: An Account of some Observations made in the Congregation of Waters, by lowering Bottles down into the Sea, six hundred feet deep from the Surface.* This experiment was made on the second of January, 1677-8, by a captain of a man of war, a man of very good sense, in the presence of a great many other persons; and was, in the judgment of Mr. Boyle, a thing of too great value to be lost, and therefore he took this method of preserving it.

We are now come to the very last of his works published in his life time, which was in the spring of the year 1691, and bore this title, *Experimenta et Observationes Physicæ*; wherein are briefly treated of several subjects relating to Natural Philosophy, in an experimental Way. To which is added, A small Collection of Strange Reports. This is called, in the title-page, *The First Part*; and amongst his papers there were found the *Second and Third Parts*; but whether compleat or not I cannot say.

About the entrance of the summer of the year last mentioned, he began to feel such an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of settling his affairs; and accordingly, on the eighteenth of July, he signed and sealed his last will, to which he afterwards, added several codicils.

In the month of October following, his distempers encreased; which might, perhaps, be owing to his tender concern for the tedious illness of his dear sister the lady Ranelagh, with whom he had lived many years in the greatest harmony and friendship, and whose indisposition brought her to the grave on the twenty-third of December following. She was, in all respects, a most accomplished and most extraordinary woman; so that her brother might very justly esteem it the peculiar felicity of his life that he had such a sister, and, in her, so useful a friend, and so agreeable a companion.

He did not survive her above a week, for, on the last day of the year 1691, or, as most authors account it, on Wednesday, the thirtieth of December, at three quarters past twelve at night, he departed this life, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; and was buried, on the seventh of January following, at the upper end of the south side of the chancel of St. Martin's in the Fields, in Westminster, near the body of his beloved sister Catherine, viscountess Ranelagh.

His funeral was decent, and as much without pomp as it was possible, considering the number of persons of distinction that attended it, besides his own numerous relations. His funeral-sermon was preached by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum; and there are many who think his performance on that occasion the best he ever published.

As to the person of this great man, we are told that Mr. Boyle was tall but slender, and his countenance pale and emaciated. His constitution was so tender and delicate, that he had divers sorts of cloaks to put on when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air; and in this he governed himself by the thermometer. He escaped, indeed, the small-pox during his life; but, for almost forty years, he laboured under such a feebleness of body, and such lowness of strength and spirits, that it was astonishing how he could read, meditate, try experiments, and write, as he did. He had likewise a weakness in his eyes, which made him very tender of them, and extremely apprehensive of such distempers as might affect them. He imagined also, that, if sickness should confine him to his bed, it might raise the pains of the stone to a degree which might be above his strength to support, so that he feared lest his last minutes should prove too hard for him. This was the ground of all the caution and apprehension he was observed to live in; but, as to life itself, he had that just indifference to it which became so true a Christian. However, his sight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died; and, when death came upon him, he had not been above three hours in bed before it made an end of him, with so little pain, that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame.

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The simplicity of his diet was, in all appearance, that which preserved him so long beyond all men's expectation. This he practised so strictly, that, in a course of above thirty years, he neither eat or drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature; and was so regular in it, that he never once transgressed the rule, measure, and kind, which were prescribed him.

In his first addresses, when he was to speak or answer, he sometimes hesitated a little rather than stammered, or repeated the same word; and this, as it rendered him slow and deliberate, so, after the first effort, he proceeded without the least interruption in his discourse.

He was never married; but Mr. Evelyn was assured, that he courted the beautiful and ingenious daughter of Cary, earl of Monmouth; and that to this passion was owing his Seraphic Love: but it does not appear, from any of his writings, that he had ever entertained thoughts of this kind. To say the truth, he seems to have been persuaded that he was born for nobler purposes than the ordinary lot of men; or, at least, if he was not so persuaded, his actions were such as may so persuade us.

We have, by the help of those industrious and worthy persons who had provided the materials, followed him from his infancy to the grave, with that degree of wonder, reverence, and respect, which his knowledge, virtue;  
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and piety, demand. The learned prelate who preached his funeral sermon, and one who seldom wanted words when he meant to describe any character, owns himself at a loss in the performance of this last duty to Mr Boyle. We may, therefore, with greater reason excuse ourselves, as well on account of the great length of this article, as the difficulties that lie in the way of framing a character for one, whose memory, like the paintings of a great master, has been meliorated by time, and is now, not the object barely of admiration, but of veneration also. He was a man, who, in the beginning of his life, raised such hopes as hurt themselves, for those who considered him most attentively, scarce thought it possible that they should be answered; and yet, without fear of flattery, we may affirm, that these, even these, hopes, were exceeded. He attained the vigour of his age in those deplorable times, when the Church and State lay buried in confusion, which gave him so true a notion of the vanity of titles and the danger of power, that he not only never courted either, but was industrious in shunning both. He made philosophy the business of his life, from the two noblest motives man could possibly conceive, the desire of doing good to others, and of manifesting the goodness of that Divine Being who is the parent of all. Yet, full of these serious and sublime intentions, he not only condescended to behave, in all the common offices  
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of life, like other men, but even with a peculiar civility, which he shewed especially towards foreigners, by whom he was often visited, and who never went away from him but with full satisfaction.

His temper was naturally hasty ; but he corrected this so early in his youth, that, except now and then in his countenance, it was never discerned afterwards. The sweetness of his disposition, and that meekness of mind which discovered itself in all he did, never led him into any of those faults which usually attend the excess even of these amiable qualities. He could be warm when there was a proper occasion for warmth ; that is, in the cause of truth, which he always vigorously defended ; and we have an instance of his zeal for the essentials of religion, of which it would be an injury done his fame not to take notice.

As great as Mr. Boyle's moderation and charity was, in respect to all the different sects in which Christianity was divided, yet he was a constant member of the church of England. and went to no separate assemblies ; but, some time before the restoration, either out of curiosity, or, perhaps, from some more weighty motive, he went to Sir Henry Vane's house in order to hear him, who, at that time, was at the head of a sect who called themselves Seekers : neither was this visit of his attended with any disappointment, for he there heard him preach, in a large thronged



room, a long sermon on the text of Dan. xii. 2. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

The whole scope of Sir Henry's sermon was to shew, that many doctrines of religion, that had long been dead and buried in the world, should, before the end of it, be awakened into life; and, that many false doctrines, being then likewise revived, should, by the power of truth, be then doomed to shame and everlasting contempt.

When Sir Henry had concluded his discourse, Mr. Boyle spoke to this effect to him before the people: That, being informed, that, in such private meetings, it was not unc customary for any one of the speakers or hearers, who was unsatisfied about any matters there uttered, to give in his objections against them, and to prevent any mistakes in the speakers or hearers, he thought himself obliged, for the honour of God's truth, to say, That this place in Daniel, being the clearest one in all the Old Testament, for the proof of the resurrection, we ought not to suffer the meaning of it to evaporate into allegory; and the rather, since that inference is made by our Saviour in the New Testament, by way of asserting the resurrection from that place of Daniel in the Old: and, that, if it should be denied that the plain and genuine meaning of those words in the prophet, is to  
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assert the resurrection of dead bodies, he was ready to prove it to be so, both out of the words of the text and context in the original language, and from the best expositors, both Christian and Jewish. But that, if this be not denied, and Sir Henry's discourse of the resurrection of doctrines true and false, was designed by him only in the way of occasional meditations from those words in Daniel, and not to enervate the literal sense as the genuine one, then he had nothing further to say.

Mr. Boyle then sitting down, Sir Henry rose up, and said, that his discourse was only in the way of such occasional meditations, which he thought edifying to the people; and declared, that he agreed that the literal sense of the words was the resurrection of dead bodies. and so that meeting broke up.

Mr. Boyle afterwards speaking of this conference to Sir Peter Pett, observed, that Sir Henry Vane, at that time, being in the height of his authority in the state, and his auditors at that meeting, consisting chiefly of dependants on him, and expectants from him, the fear of losing his favour would, probably, have restrained them from contradicting any of his interpretations of scripture, how ridiculous soever. "But I," said Mr. Boyle, "having no little awe of that kind upon me, thought myself bound to enter the lists with him, as I did, that the sense of the scriptures might not be depraved."

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The extensiveness of his knowledge surpassed every thing but his modesty, and his desire of communicating it; which appears equally in all his compositions; for in them we may discern his fear of offending, and his fear of concealing; and this, not from any timid apprehensions of opposition, but from a benevolent inclination to instruct without severity, and to part with wisdom as freely as he had received it.

He had the justest conception of truth that the human mind can frame; so cautious in examining and reporting, as to avoid, in the opinion of all true judges, the least imputation of credulity; and, on the other hand, so well acquainted with the power of nature, that he never presumed to set any limits thereto, or hindered any accession of knowledge, by that sort of incredulity which sometimes attends superior learning. In a word, considered in every light, as a man, as a philosopher, as a Christian, he came as near perfection as the defects of human nature would allow; and, though he never sought it, yet the most universal praise, both at home and abroad, waited on his labours living, and have constantly attended his memory; for it may be truly said, that never any fame was more unquestioned than that of Mr. Boyle's both was and is; and we may, with great safety, add, that, as he is the peculiar honour of his family, and the great glory of this nation, so foreigners, who  
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cannot contend with us in these points, endeavour to outvie us in their commendations.

In treating this subject, we have, perhaps, gone too far; but whoever considers it attentively, will easily excuse a fault that it was almost impossible not to commit; and for which we can only atone by confessing, that all we have or could say, is so much below his merit, that it serves only to express our sense of it, and our desire of rendering him that justice, which, without abilities equal to his own, can never be performed.



## THE LIFE OF

## JOHN TILLOTSON.

**D**OCTOR JOHN TILLOTSON, archbishop of Canterbury, was descended of a family antiently of the name of Tilston, of Tilston, in Cheshire, the ancestor of which was Nicholas de Tilston, lord of the manor of Tilston, from whom descended Nicholas de Tilston, in the ninth year of king Edward III. The doctor's father was Mr. Robert Tillotson, a considerable clothier, of Sowerby, in the parish of Hallifax, in the county of York, where he was born, at a house called Haugh, about the end of September, or beginning of October, 1630; and baptized there on the third of October: his mother being Mary, (the daughter of Thomas Dobson, a gentleman of the same place) a woman of excellent character, but unhappy, for many years of her life, in the loss of her understanding. Both his parents were nonconformists.

After he had, with a quick proficiency, passed through the grammar-schools, and attained a skill in the learned languages, superior to his years, he was sent to Cambridge, in the year 1647, at the age of seventeen, and  
admitted





*Arch. Bishop Tillotson*

admitted pensioner of Clare-hall, on the twenty-third of April that year; and into the matricula of that university on the first of July following, where he commenced bachelor of arts at midsummer, 1650; and master of arts in 1654; having been chosen fellow of his college about the twenty seventh of November, 1651.

His first education and impressions were among those who were then called Puritans, but of the best sort; and yet, even before his mind was opened to clearer thoughts, he felt somewhat within him that disposed him to larger notions and a better temper. The books which were put into the hands of the youth at that time, being generally heavy, he could scarce bear them, even before he knew better things; but he soon met with the immortal work of Mr. Chillingworth. This admirable book gave his mind the ply that it held ever after, and put him upon a true scent.

He was soon freed from his first prejudices, or, rather, he was never mastered by them; yet he still adhered to that strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and due tenderness for the men of that persuasion; and by the strength of his reason, together with the clearness of his principles, brought over more serious persons from their scruples to the communion of the church of England, and fixed more in it, than any man, perhaps, of that time.



As he got into a new method of study, so he entered into friendships with some great men, which contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind. But that which gave him his last finishing, was his close and long friendship with Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester. He went into all the best things that were in that great man, but so that he perfected every one of them: for, though bishop Wilkins had more general knowledge, yet Dr. Tillotson was the greater divine; and, if the former had more flame, the latter was more correct.

Mr. Tillotson left his college in 1656, or 1657, according to Dr. Hickes, who informs us, that he was invited by Edmund Prideaux, esq. of Ford-abbey, in Devonshire, to instruct his son. This gentleman had been commissioner of the great-seal under the long-parliament, and was then attorney-general to Oliver Cromwell, the protector; but how long Mr. Tillotson lived with Mr. Prideaux, or whether till that gentleman's decease, on the nineteenth of August, 1659, does not appear.

He was in London at the time of the death of the protector Oliver, on the third of September, 1658; and, about a week after, was present at a very remarkable scene at the palace at Whitehall: for happening to be there on a fast-day of the household, he went, out of curiosity, into the presence-chamber, where the solemnity was kept; and saw there, on the one side of a table, the new protector  
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placed with the rest of his family; and on the other six preachers; among whom were Dr. John Owen, dean of Christchurch, in Oxford; Dr. Thomas Goodwin, president of Magdalen-college; Mr. Joseph Caryl, author of the voluminous commentary on Job, and rector of St. Magnus in London; and Mr. Peter Steny. The bold sallies of enthusiasm which Mr. Tillotson heard upon this occasion, were sufficient to disgust a man less disposed to it than he was both by temper and principles. God was, in a manner, reproached with the deceased protector's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Dr. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them, in a prayer, a very few minutes before he expired, that he was not to die, had now the assurance to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." And Mr. Steny, praying for Richard, used these indecent words, next to blasphemy, "Make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person."

The time of Mr. Tillotson's entering into holy-orders, and by whom he was ordained, are facts we have not been able to determine; but his first sermon which appeared in print, was preached at the morning exercise at Cripplegate, on Matth. vii. 13. At the time of preaching this sermon he was still among the Presbyterians, whose commissioners he attended, though as an auditor only, at the

Savoy, for the review of the Liturgy, in July, 1661; but he immediately submitted to the act of uniformity, which commenced on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year ensuing.

The first office in the church in which we find him employed after the restoration, was that of curate at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, in the years 1661 and 1662. Here Mr. Tillotson is said, by his mild and gentle behaviour, and persuasive eloquence, to have prevailed with an Oliverian soldier, who preached among the Anabaptists in that town in a red coat, and was much followed, to desist from that, and betake himself to some other employment.

The short distance of Cheshunt from London, allowing him frequent opportunities of visiting his friends in that city, he was frequently invited into the pulpits there. And on the sixteenth of December 1662 he was elected minister of the adjoining parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, by the parishoners, in whom the right of choice is invested. But Mr. Tillotson declined the acceptance of that living, however he did not continue long without the offer of another benefice, which he accepted, being presented in June 1663 to the rectory of Ketton or Keddington, in the county of Suffolk, worth two hundred pounds a year. But shortly after, being called to London, by the society of Lincoln's-inn, to be their preacher; which invitation was so agreeable

able to Mr. Tillotson, that he determined to settle himself intirely, among them, and tho' in the intervals of the terms he could have given a large part of the year, to his parish in Suffolk; yet so strict was he to the pastoral care in point of residence, that he resigned that living, even when his income in London could scarce support him. The reputation, which his preaching gained him in so conspicuous a station as that of Lincoln's inn, recommended him the year following, to the trustees of the Tuesday lecture, at St. Lawrence Jewry, founded by Elizabeth viscountess Camden. And there he was commonly attended by a numerous audience, brought together from the remotest parts of the metropolis, and by a great concourse of clergy, who came thither to form their minds. The high reputation of Dr. John Wilkins, and the interest of Villiers duke of Buckingham, having at last, notwithstanding the opposition of archbishop Sheldon, and other great men of the church, induced the king to advance him to a bishopric, Dr. Tillotson was desired to preach the sermon on Sunday the fiftenth of November 1668, in the chapel at Ely-house. Dr. Tillotson was now related to bishop Wilkins, by the marriage of his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth French, who was neice to Oliver Cromwell, however, his avernsness to solicitation, did not prevent his merit from having justice done it, by the interest which it gained him even at court, as well as in the city, for  
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upon the promotion of Dr. Peter Gunning to the bishopric of Chichester, in February in 1669-70, in the room of Dr. Henry King, he was collated to the prebend of the second stall in the cathedral of Canterbury, which had been held by the new bishop, and was admitted to it on the fourteenth of March. He kept this prebend till he was advanced to the deanry of that church, in October 1672. Nor was Canterbury the only cathedral, in which Dr. Tillotson was preferred, for on the eighteenth of December 1675, he was presented to the prebend of Ealdland, in that of St. Paul's London, which he resigned for that at Oxgate, and a residentiaryship in the same church, on the fourteenth of February, 1677-8. This last preferment was obtained for him by the interest of his friend Dr. John Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York. The friendship between the dean and Dr. Sharpe was occasioned by an accidental meeting upon this occasion. Mr. Joshua Tillotson the dean's brother, was a wet and dry salter, or oilman, in London, of which trade was the doctor's father, Mr. Thomas Sharp at Bradford in Yorkshire. The Dr. returning from thence, into Sir Heneage Finch's family, with a bill drawn on Mr. Joshua Tilloton, happened to meet at his house Dr. Tillotson who finding Mr. Sharp to be his countryman, and a young clergyman setting out into the world, being above fourteen years younger than himself, with his usual goodness and civility, took particular notice of him, and  
after

after some conversation gave Mr. Sharp leave to come freely to his house, whenever he pleased, and to have recourse to him as often as he thought it might be serviceable to him. Mr. Sharp judged this a most fortunate interview, and himself extremely happy in so valuable an acquaintance, and ever after spoke with pleasure of this incident. The dean of Canterbury had now been some years chaplain to king Charles II, though his majesty had no kindness for him, according to the suggestion of bishop Burnet, admitted by Dr. Hickes. But to whomsoever he owed his preferments, which can only be considered as the just rewards of his extraordinary merits, they had no other effect upon him, than to enlarge his capacity of doing good. He neither slackened his labours, nor advanced his fortunes by them, but gave as much of his time and labours to his cathedral, as could agree with his other obligations. And all that he desired afterwards upon the revolution was such a change of his deanry of Canterbury for that of St. Paul's, as considerably lessened his income, by the resignation of his residentiaryship of the latter, but delivered him from the invidious load of having two dignities. The rise of his interest with the prince and princess of Orange, with the consequence of it in his advancement to the see of Canterbury, has been ascribed to an accident, which is supposed to have happened in the year 1677, and is thus represented by one of our historians as  
drawn

drawn from a manuscript account taken from archbishop Tillotson's own mouth. That the match between that prince and princess, being made upon political views against the will of the duke of York, and not with the hearty liking of the king, the country party as they were then called, were exceedingly pleased and elevated, and after the lord mayor's feast, a secret design was laid to invite the new married couple into the city, and a public and solemn entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the court hurried both the bride and bridegroom, as fast as they could, out of town, so that they departed with such precipitation, that they had scarce time to make any provision for their journey. Their servants and baggage went by the way of Harwich, but the prince and princess by Canterbury road, where they were to lye till the wind was fair, and the yatcht ready to sail with them. Being arrived at Canterbury, they repaired to an inn, and no good care being taken in their haste to separate what was needful for their journey, they came very meanly provided, thither. Monsr. Bentinck, who attended them, endeavoured to borrow some plate and money of the corporation for their accommdation, but upon grave deliberation, the mayor and body proved to be really afraid to lend them either. Dr. Tillotson dean of Canterbury, at that time in residence there, hearing of this, immediately got together all his own plate, and other that he borrowed,

together

together with a good number of guineas, and all other necessaries for them, and went directly to the inn to Mons. Bentinck, and offered him all that he had got, and withal complained, that they did not come to the deanry, where the royal family used to lodge, and heartily invited them still to go thither, where they might be sure of a better accommodation. This last they declined, but the money, plate, and the rest were highly acceptable to them. Upon this, the dean was carried to wait upon the prince and princess, and his great interest soon brought others to attend upon them. "By this lucky accident, adds the account, he began that acquaintance and the correspondence with the prince and Mons. Bentinck, which yearly encreased to the very revolution, when both Mons. Bentinck had great occasion for him and his friends, on his own account, as well as the prince himself, when he arrived at the crown. And this was the true secret ground, on which the bishop of London, (whose qualities and services seemed to intitle him without a rival, to the archbishopric) was yet set aside, and Dr. Tillotson advanced over his head". But this solemn and circumstantial story, when examined, will be found liable to great exceptions. The sudden death of his second brother, Mr. Joshua Tillotson, by vomiting of blood, on the sixteenth of September 1678, affected him in a very sensible manner, and being unwilling to shock his father, then at his house at Sowerby, with the abrupt



abrupt communication of it, wrote the same day to his kinsman Mr. Timothy Bentley, desiring him to acquaint him with the loss of his son, and to intreat him, "to bear it with patience, and submission to the will of God, and to comfort himself, as I, says he, desire to do, with the hope of meeting and enjoying him in a better life". The discovery of the popish plot in September 1678, of which the reality, or at least extant has been since treated as one of the greatest problems in history, having given great alarm to the parliament, which met on the twenty first of October, a few days after the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the dean was appointed to preach before the House of Commons, on the fifth of November following. His text was Luke ix. 55, 56. and the design of his discourse was to shew, that a revengeful, cruel, and destructive spirit is directly contrary to the design and temper of the gospel, and not to be excused upon any pretence of zeal for God and religion. In the conclusion he makes an application of that doctrine to the occasion of the day, by exposing the principles and practices of the church of Rome, and particularly in the gun-powder treason-plot, avowed by the authors, who expressed a concern for its ill success, as appeared by the original papers and letters of Sir Edward Digby, then in the dean's hands.

He had not long after this an occasion to improve these considerations, concerning the nature and tendency of popery, to the disengaging

gaging a young nobleman of great parts from the profession of it, in which he had been educated. This was Charles earl of Shrewsbury, created a duke, by king William, to whom he was secretary of state, having had a considerable share in the revolution, and in the latter end of whose reign he retired to Italy for his health, where he continued, till about the year 1710, when he returned to England, and joined the new ministry, notwithstanding which he was again made lord chamberlain to king George I, as he had been to queen Anne, and died on the first of February 1717-18. His lordship was led into an inquiry into his first religion, by the discovery of the popish plot and was soon made sensible of its errors and corruptions, by so thorough a master of that subject as the dean of Canterbury, whom he attended for the first time. at the public worship in Lincoln's-inn chapel, on Sunday the fourth of May 1679.

The discovery of the Rye-house plot, in June the same year 1683, opened a very melancholy scene, in which the dean had a large share of distress on account both of his friendships and his concern for the public. One of the principal objects of his sollicitude and anxiety, was William lord Russel, eldest son of William earl, and after the revolution, duke of Bedford. His lordship having shewn so warm a zeal for the bill of exclusion, which he had moved for in the house of commons, in the beginning of November 1680, had little

the reason, notwithstanding the integrity of his own personal character, and the dignity and weight of his family and its connections, to expect any favour from the court. He was committed to the tower on the twenty-sixth of June, and brought to his trial at the Old Bailey, on Friday the thirteenth of July, where he was found guilty of high treason. The dean appeared as a witness for his lordship's character, at his trial, declaring, that he had been many years past acquainted with him, and had always judged him a person of great virtue and integrity, and very far from any such wicked design, as he stood charged with. And after lord Russel's condemnation, the dean and Dr. Burnet were sent for by his lordship, and they both continued their attendance upon him, till his death; the day before which, the dean delivered to him a letter, in which he endeavoured to persuade him to what he had some days before in vain attempted, a declaration against the lawfulness of resistance. The principles of this letter, were the ground of those expressions, which he used in his prayer with his lordship on the scaffold in Lincoln's-inn fields, on Saturday the twenty-first of July. "Grant that all we, who survive, by this and other instances of thy providence may learn our duty to God and the king". And this prayer, as well as his letter, were considered by the court as such a sanction to their favourite doctrines and measures, that Mr. Roger L'Estrange was furnished with copies of them, inserted by him,

him in his considerations upon a printed sheet, entituled, The speech of the late lord Russell, to the sheriffs; in which he gives an account of the dean's pious and friendly visits to his lordship, and commends him for discharging himself from first to last in all the parts of a churchman and of a friend.

In November 1687, the dean lost the last surviving of his children, Mary, the wife of James Chadwicke Esq. by whom she left two sons, and a daughter. This loss, as he observed in a letter of the eleventh of that month to Mr. Nelson, then in London, deeply pierced his heart; "but I endeavour, adds he, to do as becomes me, and as I know I ought" This misfortune probably occasioned him to retire to Canterbury, whence he wrote again to that gentleman, on the seventh of December, to return his own and his wife's thanks, to him, and to those honourable persons, who, upon Mr. Nelson's motion, had been so charitable in their contributions, most probably to the french protestants in that city, since he requests him to lay out five pounds in french bibles bound, and to desire Mr. Firmin to send them thither. Not long after this, the dean was seized with a disorder of the apoplectic kind, but escaped the consequences of it, without any return till that fatal one about seven years after. During the debate in parliament concerning the settlement of the crown on king William for life, the dean was advised with upon that point by the princess Anne of Denmark

mark, who had at first refused to give her consent to it, as prejudicial to her own right. Her favourite, the lady Churchill, afterwards dutchess of Marlborough, accordingly took great pains to promote the princess's pretensions. But that lady soon finding, that all endeavours of this kind, would be ineffectual, that all the principal men, except the Jacobites were for the king, and that the settlement would be carried in parliament, whether her royal highness would or not, and being fearful about every thing, which the princess did while she was thought to be advised by her ladyship, she could not satisfy her own mind till she had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the lady Russel, and the dean of Canterbury. She found them all unanimous in the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated, and therefore carried the dean to the princess, who, upon what he said to her, took care, that no disturbance should be made by her pretended friends the Jacobites, who had pressed her earnestly to form an opposition. The dean was admitted into a high degree of favour and confidence with king William and queen Mary, before the latter of whom he preached at Whitehall, on the eighth of March 1688-9, his sermon concerning the forgiveness of injuries, and against revenge, as he did on the fourteenth of April following, before both their majesties, at Hampton Court, that, on the care of our  
souls

souls, and the one thing needful. And on the twenty seventh of that month, he was promoted to an office, which required his frequent attendance near their majesties persons, being appointed clerk of the closet to the king. The refusal of archbishop Sancroft, to acknowledge the government of their majesties, made it necessary to look out for a successor to him. The king soon fixed upon the dean of Canterbury, for that purpose, whose desires and ambition had extended no farther than the exchange of his deanry for that of St. Paul's, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Stillingfleet to the bishopric of Worcester, upon the death of Dr. Thomas. This was readily granted him in September 1689, and he was installed on the twenty first of November. It was indeed a considerable diminution of his income, as he resigned at the same time, the residentiaryship of St. Pauls. But he chose, as has been already observed, to disburthen himself of the load, and cavy of holding two dignities together. Yet however satisfied he was in that situation, his majesty would not let him rest, till he submitted to a much higher post, to which he had an almost-inconquerable aversion.

Dr. Tillotson had been in strict attendance at court in his office of clerk of the closet for ten weeks till towards the beginning of September 1689, when he obtained leave to retire for some days, to his house at Edmonton, whence he wrote on the tenth of that month

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to lady Ruffel, giving her an account of the king's having given the bishopric of Chichester to Dr. Patrick, and the deanry of Peterborough to Dr. Kidder. The rectory of St. Paul's Covent-Garden also falling into his majesty's disposal by the promotions of the new bishop of Chichester, dean Tillotson informed her ladyship, that he believed, that the king would not dispose of that living but to one, whom the earl of Bedford, the patron of it, should approve, and therefore asked her whether his lordship and she would be willing that the earl of Nottingham should mention to his majesty on that occasion Dr. John More. This divine was, after his advancement to the episcopal dignity one of the most eminent patrons of learning and learned men, in his time; and his name will be carried down to posterity, not only by his sermons published by Dr. Samuel Clarke, his chaplain, but by the curious and magnificent library collected by him, and purchased after his death, for six thousand guineas by his late majesty, who presented it to the university of Cambridge. He was born at Harborough in Leicestershire, and educated at Clare-hall in that university, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1665, of master in 1669, of doctor of divinity in 1681. He was fellow of that college and chaplain to the chancellor Nottingham, and quitting the rectory of Blaby in Leicestershire, was collated to that of St. Austin in London in December 1687, and in October 1689 was removed to that

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that of St. Andrews, which he held till July 1691, when he was consecrated bishop of Norwich, in the room of Dr. William Lloyd, deprived for not taking the oaths, and July 1707, translated to the see of Ely, upon the death of Dr. Patrick. He died on thirty first of July 1714, at the age of sixty eight. In the same letter, the dean takes notice of his having spoken to the king the Sunday before, concerning Mr. Samuel Johnson, and that his majesty seemed well inclined to what he had moved for that divine, but did not positively determine to take that course. This refers to some request, which lady Russel had desired the dean to make to his majesty in favour of Mr. Johnson, for whom she had great zeal out of regard both to the memory of her husband, whose chaplain he had been, and to the merit of his writings and sufferings.

The king had now fixed upon Dr. Tillotson for the successor to the suspended archbishop Sancroft, if the latter should incur, as he seemed determined, a sentence of deprivation: And he communicated the intention to the doctor, when he kissed his majesty's hand for the deanry of St. Pauls. But this fact will be best represented in the dean's own words, in his letter to lady Russel; part of which, we shall insert here. And it is observable, that this letter is an unanswerable confutation of a report, propagated to the disadvantage of bishop Burnet, that he had a view himself to the archbishopric, and that his disappointment  
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in that respect was the ground of an incurable resentment against a prince, to whom he had been so much obliged. "But now begins my trouble. After I had kissed the king's hand for the deanry of St. Paul's, I gave his majesty my most humble thanks, and told him, that now he had set me at ease for the remainder of my life. He replied, no such matter, I assure you: and spoke plainly about a great place, which I dread to think of, and said, it was necessary for his service, and he must charge it upon my conscience. Just as he had said this, he was called to supper, and I had only time to say, that when his majesty was at leisure, I did believe I could satisfy him, that it would be most for his service, that I should continue in the station, in which he had now placed me. This hath brought me into a real difficulty. For on the one hand it is hard to decline his majesty's commands, and much harder yet to stand out against so much goodness, as his majesty is pleased to use towards me. On the other, I can neither bring my inclination nor my judgement to it. This I owe to the bishop of Salisbury, one of the worst and best friends I know: Best for his singular good opinion of me: And the worst for directing the king to this method, which I know he did; as if his lordship and I had connected the matter how to finish this foolish piece of dissimulation, in running away from a bishopric to catch an archbishopric. This fine device hath thrown me so far into the

the briars, that, without his majesty's great goodness, I shall never get off without a scratched face.

"And now I will tell your ladyship the bottom of my heart. I have, of a long time, I thank God for it, devoted myself to the public service, without any regard for myself; and to that end have done the best I could, in the best manner I was able. Of late God hath been pleased, by a very severe way, but in great goodness to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this world; so that worldly greatness is now not only undesirable, but distasteful to me: and I do verily believe that I shall be able to do as much or more good in my present station than in a higher; and shall not have one jot less interest or influence upon any others to any good purpose; for the people naturally love a man that will take great pains and little preferment: but, on the other hand, if I could force my inclination to take this great place, I foresee that I shall sink under it, and grow melancholy, and good for nothing; and, after a little while, die as a fool dies."

The see of Canterbury soon after becoming vacant by the deprivation of archbishop Sancroft, on the first of February, 1689 90, the king continued, for several months after, his importunities to the dean for his acceptance of it; which he still endeavoured to avoid. In this situation he wrote a letter to the lady Russell, wherein he tells her,

“ On Sunday last the king commanded me to wait upon him the next morning at Kensington. I did so, and met with what I feared. His majesty renewed his former gracious offer in so pressing a manner, and with so much kindness, that I hardly knew how to resist it. I made the best acknowledgments I could of his undeserved grace and favour to me, and begged of him to consider all the consequences of the matter; being well assured, that all that storm, which was raised in convocation the last year by those who will be the church of England, was upon my account; and that the bishop of L----- was at the bottom of it, out of a jealousy that I might be a hindrance to him in attaining what he desires, and what, I call God to witness, I would not have.

“ And I told his majesty, that I was still afraid, that his kindness to me would be greatly to his prejudice, especially if he carried it so far as he was then pleased to speak. For I plainly saw they could not bear it, and that the effects of envy and ill-will towards me would terminate upon him.

“ To which he replied, That, if the thing were once done, and they saw no remedy, they would give over, and think of making the best of it; and therefore he must desire me to think seriously of it; with other expressions not fit for me to repeat. To all which I answered, That, in obedience to his majesty's commands, I would consider of it again, tho'

I was afraid I had already thought more of it than had done me good, and must break thro' one of the greatest resolutions of my life, and sacrifice, at once, all the ease and contentment of it; which yet I would force myself to do, were I really convinced, that I was, in any measure, capable of doing his majesty and the public that service which he was pleased to think I was. He smiled, and said, 'You talk of trouble; I believe you will have much more ease in it than in the condition in which you now are.' Thinking not fit to say more, I humbly took leave."

To this letter her ladyship returned an answer which contributed not a little to determine him to acquiesce in the king's pleasure, if his majesty should still press him, who now insisted upon a peremptory answer. The result of this affair is mentioned at large in his letter to lady Ruffel.

"I went to Kensington full of fear, but yet determined what was fit for me to do. I met the king coming out of his closet, and asking if his coach was ready. He took me aside, and I told him, That, in obedience to his majesty's command, I had considered of the thing as well as I could, and came to give him my answer. I perceived his majesty was going out, and therefore desired him to appoint me another time, which he did on the Saturday morning after.

"Then I came again, and he took me into his closet; where I told him, that I could not

but have a deep sense of his majesty's great grace and favour to me, not only to offer me the best thing he had to give, but to press it so earnestly upon me. I said, I would not presume to argue the matter any farther, but I hoped he would give me leave to be still his humble and earnest petitioner to spare me in that thing. He answered, he would do so, if he could ; but he knew not what to do, if I refused it. Upon that I told him, that I tendered my life to him. and did humbly devote [it] to be disposed of as he thought fit. He was graciously pleased to say, it was the best news had come to him this great while. I did not kneel down to kiss his hand ; for, without that, I doubt I am too sure of it ; but requested of him, that he would defer the declaration of it, and let it be a secret for some time. He said he thought it might not be amiss to defer it till the parliament was up.

“ I begged farther of him, that he would not make me a wedge to drive out the present archbishop ; that, some time before I was nominated, his majesty would be pleased to declare in council, that, since his lenity had not had any better effect, he would wait no more, but would dispose of their places. This, I told him, I humbly desired, that I might not be thought to do any thing harsh, or which might reflect upon me ; for, now that his majesty had thought fit to advance me to this station, my reputation was become his interest.

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He said, he was sensible of it, and thought it reasonable to do as I desired.

“ I craved leave of him to mention one thing more, which, in justice to my family, especially my wife, I ought to do, that I should be more than undone by the great and necessary charge of coming into this place, and must therefore be an humble petitioner to his majesty, that, if it should please God to take me out of the world, that I must unavoidably leave my wife a beggar, he would not suffer her to be so; and that he would graciously be pleased to consider, that the removal of an archbishop of Canterbury, which would now be an odd sight in England, could not decently be forgotten by his majesty, as would have contented her very well if I had used a dean.” To this he gave a very gracious answer, “ I promise you to take care of her.”

The king's nomination of the dean to the archbishopric of Canterbury had been agreed between them to be postponed till after the breaking up of the session of parliament, which was prorogued on the fifth of January, 1690-1; when it was thought proper to defer it still longer, on account of his majesty's voyage to Holland.

While his majesty stayed in England, he was resolved to fill the vacant sees, from which he had been hitherto diverted by the dean's advice, who was reproached for it by the king at his return from Flanders, and was now obliged himself to consent to his

majesty's nomination of him to the archbishopric in council, on the twenty-third of April, 1691.

Immediately after this public declaration, he went to the deprived archbishop, still at Lambeth; and sent in his name by several servants, and stayed a long time for an answer, but was forced to return without receiving any; an incivility which he had not at all deserved of his predecessor; whose reputation, integrity, and wisdom, when aspersed by others, he had often vindicated to the king.

The conge d'eslire being granted on the first of May, he was elected on the sixteenth, confirmed on the twenty-eighth, and, having retired to his house on Saturday the thirtieth, which he spent in fasting and prayer, in the manner represented from his own account in short-hand at the end of his works, was consecrated the day following, being Whitsunday, in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, by Dr. Peter Mew, bishop of Winchester; Dr. William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum; Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester; Dr. Gilbert Ironside, bishop of Bristol; and Dr. John Hough, bishop of Oxford; in the presence of Henry, duke of Norfolk; Thomas, marquis of Carmarthen, lord-president of the council; William, earl of Devonshire; Charles, earl of Dorset; Charles, earl of Macclesfield; Thomas, earl of Falconberg; Robert, lord Lucas, and divers other persons of rank; who attended the

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the solemnity, to express the great esteem and respect which they had for his grace, and the satisfaction which they had in his promotion.

The consecration-sermon was preached, on John xxi. 17, by Mr. Ralph Barker, afterwards his chaplain, whom his grace had desired to perform that office.

Four days after his consecration, on the fourth of June, he was sworn of the privy-council, and, on the eleventh of July, had a restitution of the temporalities of his see. The queen likewise granted him all the profits of it from the Michaelmas preceding, which then amounted to two thousand five hundred pounds. He continued to live at the deanry of St. Paul's till the latter end of the year 1691, and in the mean time built a large apartment at Lambeth house for his wife, repaired the whole, altered the windows and lights of the archbishop's lodgings, also wainscotted many rooms, and made other improvements there ; which being finished, he removed thither, as appears from a memorandum in his own handwriting, on the twenty-sixth of November, 1691.

The malice and party-rage, which he had felt the effects of before he was raised to the archbishopric, broke out with full force, upon his advancement, in all the forms of insult : one instance of which, not commonly known, deserves to be mentioned here.

Soon after his promotion, while a gentleman was with him, who came to pay his compli-



ments upon it, a packet was brought in sealed and directed to his grace; upon opening of which there appeared a mask inclosed, but nothing written. The archbishop, without any signs of emotion, threw it carelessly among his papers on the table; and, on the gentleman's expressing great surprize and indignation at the affront, his grace only smiled, and said, 'That this was a gentle rebuke, if compared with some others, that lay there in black and white, pointing to the papers on the table.

Nor could the series of ill treatment, which he received, ever provoke him to a temper of revenge, being far from indulging himself in any of those liberties, in speaking of others, which were, to so immeasurable a degree, made use of against himself. And, upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this, "These are libels. I pray God forgive them; I do."

The calumnies spread against him, though the falsest which malice could invent, and the confidence with which they were averred, joined with the envy that accompanies a high station, had indeed a greater operation than could have been imagined, considering how long he had lived on so public a scene, and how well he was known. It seemed a new and unusual a thing, that a man, who, in the course of above thirty years, had done so much good, and so many services to so many persons,

sons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing, to any one, and who had a sweetness and gentleness in him, that seemed rather to lean to an excess, should yet meet with so much unkindness and injustice. But he bore all this with a submission to the will of God; nor had it any effect on him, to change either his temper or his maxims, tho' perhaps it might sink too much into him with relation to his health.

He was so exactly true, in all the representations of things or persons, which he laid before their majesties, that he never raised the character of his friends, nor sunk that of those who deserved not so well of him; but offered every thing to them with that sincerity which so well became him. His truth and candour were perceptible in almost every thing which he said or did; his looks and whole manner seeming to take away all suspicion concerning him; for he thought nothing in this world was worth much art or great management.

He did not long survive his advancement; for, on Sunday, the eighteenth of November, 1694, he was seized with a sudden illness while he was at the chapel in Whitehall: but, though his countenance shewed that he was indisposed, he thought it not decent to interrupt the service. The fit indeed came slowly on, but it seemed to be fatal, and soon turned to a dead palsy. The oppression of his distemper was so great, that it became very un-

easy for him to speak ; but it appeared, that his understanding was still clear, tho' others could not have the advantage of it. He continued serene and calm, and, in broken words, said, that, he thanked God, he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do but to wait the will of Heaven.

He was attended, the two last nights of his illness, by his friend Mr. Nelson, in whose arms he expired on the fifth day of it, Thursday, November the twenty-second, at five in the afternoon, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

The sorrow for his death was more universal than was ever known for a subject ; and, when his funeral was appointed, there was a numerous train of coaches, filled with persons of rank and condition, who came voluntarily to assist at that solemnity from Lambeth to the church of St. Laurence Jewry, where his body was interred on the thirtieth of that month ; and a monument afterwards erected to his memory with the following inscription :

**P. M.**

**Reverendissimi & sanctissimi Præsulis**

**JOHANNIS TILLOTSON,**

**Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis,**

**Concionatoris olim hæc in Ecclesiâ**

**per Annos XXX celeberrimi,**

**Qui obiit Xo Kal. Dec. MDCLXXXIV,**

**Ætatis suæ LXIII.**

**Hoc posuit ELIZABETHA**

**Conjux illius mætissima.**

## JOHN TILLOTSON. 155

His funeral-sermon was preached by Dr Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, on 2 Tim. iv. 7; in the course of which he was interrupted by a short flow of sighs and tears, which forced their way, as was visible to the audience, who accompanied it with a general groan.



THE LIFE OF

## GEORGE ROOK.

**SIR** GEORGE ROOK was born in the county of Kent, of an antient and genteel family; and, having been very well educated in his youth, his father put him, when he grew up, and first enter upon business, to an honourable profession; but his genius violently inclined him to try his fortune on the watery element, his father at length gave way to it. To sea he went, pretty early in the reign of king Charles II. and made such proficiency in the naval art, that he was, in some time after, promoted to the post of a lieutenant, and, if I mistake not, made a captain, before the death of that prince, which happened in February, 1684: but king Charles having spent several years of the latter part of his reign in peace with his neighbours, we have little to say concerning this our hero during the reign of king James II. who entertained him in his post in the fleet, and seemed to discover a mighty opinion and esteem for him; that prince, to do him justice, taking great delight in the sons of the sea; and having uncommon skill and experience in maritime affairs. But, as captain



*W. H. Rooker*

*S. George Rooker*



captain Rook did not at all favour the designs concerted by that prince against his country, there was indeed nothing but meer necessity, I mean the want of good officers, that made the king entertain him, and some others, in his service.

Captain Rook, upon the landing of the prince of Orange in England, and the success of his arms, coming into the Downs, under my lord Dartmouth's command, king James, his admiral, there readily concurred to have several officers in the fleet, that were known, or at least suspected, to be Papists, to be dismissed from their employments; and indeed this gentleman in particular, as much affected to the religion and liberty of his country as any in the navy could be, engaged in his station early and heartily in promoting the happy revolution that ensued.

Arthur Herbert, esq. being, on the fourteenth of March, appointed admiral of the fleet by his majesty king William, the admiral thought fit, about the end of April, to send captain Rook with a squadron of ships to the coast of Ireland, to assist the generals of the land forces in the reduction of that kingdom.

His majesty king William finding his presence to be absolutely necessary in Holland, in that great congress to be held at the Hague concerning the operations of the ensuing campaign, in, and concerting proper measures to, bring down the over-grown greatness of France,



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no body was thought more proper to be trusted with the guard of his royal person in that voyage than Rook, then rear-admiral; and it is the more remarkable, because this was the first time of his majesty's going over into Holland since he had been king of England.

The admiral sailed out of the Downs on the twenty-sixth of January, with the squadron of men of war under his command towards Margate-road; and his majesty embarking at Gravesend, they put to sea on the seventeenth, and, after having encountered great dangers from the ice on the coast of Holland, he landed safely, a little to the northward of the Maese; and the rear-admiral having honourably and faithfully discharged his great trust, and continued on that coast till he saw the yachts and small frigates harboured, he returned with the squadron, on the twenty-fifth, to Margate-road. I am not positive, but I believe the rear-admiral was, in like manner, the person appointed to convoy his majesty home again. I am sure he sailed to the eastward with a squadron of men of war on the fifteenth of March, but returning on the twenty-first of the same month, in the Charles galley, from the coast of Holland, where his majesty was not ready to embark, the king took the opportunity, about the middle of April, of returning with part of the Dutch squadron for England: however, making no long stay here, rear-admiral Rook had the honour

nour to convoy him over the second time ; and, on the second of May, landed him safely in Holland.

We shall not launch out into all the particulars of the sea-fight near La-Hogue that soon followed, in the year 1692, but confine ourselves to the share admiral Rook had in it; that he fought during the action as bravely as any officer in the fleet, no body ever yet questioned that I know ; but the French line of battle being broke, and the English and Dutch squadrons pursuing about four in the afternoon, of the twenty-second of May, eighteen sail of the French, being got eastward of Cape-Barfleur, hawled in for La-Hogue, where our ships anchored about ten at night, and lay by till about four the next morning; at which time the admiral weighed again, and stood in near the land, but the flood coming on he anchored.

At two in the afternoon he weighed again, and plied close in with La-Hogue, where were thirteen sail of the enemy's ships hawled in very near to the shore.

On Monday, the twenty-third, the admiral sent in vice-admiral Rook, with several men of war, fire ships, and the boats of the fleet, to destroy those ships ; but they had got them so far in, that none but the small frigates could do any service. However, Mr. Rook himself boldly went in with the boats, and burned six of them that night, and about eight  
the

the next morning burned the other seven, together with several transport ships, and some vessels with ammunition ; wherein not only Mr. Rook, and all the officers, signalized themselves, but the men behaved likewise with the greatest resolution and gallantry.

Surely malice itself can never suggest any thing against an action so signal and gloriously executed. His majesty was so extremely well pleased with Mr. Rook's conduct, bravery and intrepidity throughout the whole of it, that he settled a pension of ten thousand pounds a year upon him.

The ill success of the English fleet in 1693, was injurious to the whole nation ; but when his majesty, upon his return from the Netherlands, could not forbear, even in parliament, to take notice of the mismanagement of our naval affairs last summer, he was so far from thinking Sir George had any ways been wanting in his conduct and duty, that he was pleased to appoint him, in the beginning of February, to be vice admiral of the red ; and in the month of April, as a further testimony of his favour, he appointed him, together with Edward Ruffel, esq. Sir John Lowther, of Whitehaven, baronet ; Henry Priestman, esq. and Sir John Houblon, knight ; to be lords-commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England and Ireland ; but this was not all, his majesty would accumulate more promotions upon him,  
and

and about the same time advanced him from vice-admiral of the red to be admiral of the blue.

King William having dissolved the parliament on the seventh of July, 1698, and a proclamation being issued out on the thirteenth, to call another, Sir George Rook was chosen a member for Portsmouth; in which trust, none durst offer to say, that he did not discharge himself with the utmost application and fidelity.

The year 1699 being a year of peace all Europe over, that of 1700 gave Sir George a fresh opportunity to signalize his conduct in the Baltic: for a strong confederacy having been formed by the czar of Muscovy, the king of Denmark, and the king of Poland, against the young king of Sweden, and his brother-in-law the duke of Holstein; and the Dane having actually invaded that duchy, the king of England and the states-general not only interposed their good offices for mediating an accommodation, but fitted out squadrons of men of war, in order to sail into the Sound, the more effectually to forward the same, his Britannic majesty thought no body so fit for this service of admiral, and a sort of plenipotentiary, as Sir George Rook, of whose abilities and fidelity he had had so long experience.

Sir George, before the end of May, arrived with the squadron under his command before the Maese, and went himself to the Hague to confer with the states deputies about

about this grand affair. He went aboard again in a few days, and, being joined by the Dutch squadron under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemond, they were detained, for several days, on the Dutch coasts by contrary winds; however, they made a shift, before the end of June, to arrive at Gottenburg; and, on the eighth of July, entered the Sound without any opposition.

The English admiral saluted the castle of Cronenburg with three guns, and a like number was returned; the Dutch admiral gave nine, and the castle fired three in return.

The whole fleet consisted of thirty men of war besides fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and tenders. The Swedish fleet having, in like manner, put to sea, when they came to an anchor near one another, on the fifteenth, near Landskroon, beyond the Isle of Vere (upon which the Danish fleet retired under the guns of the citadel of Copenhagen).

It is very remarkable, that, though the English and Dutch squadrons came to assist and save the Swedes from ruin, that the latter took no notice of them that evening, all the next day, and part of the morning of the seventeenth; when the English admiral, having wisely weighed matters, and pursuing his orders for precedency, commanded a signal to be made by a small Dutch frigate, as if she were a neutral ship, for all flags to come on board; where he represented the case so effectually to the Swedes, who expected to have the

the chief command, that, upon his return to his ship again, and the signal given, the whole fleet of English, Dutch, and Swedes readily sailed under his command to Copenhagen, which they pretended to bombard a little, without scarce any damage done; though we have been assured, by some intelligent persons present, they could have laid the city in ashes.

But the admiral's instructions and designs tended only to peace; which being soon after happily concluded at Travendall, Sir George returned home, about the middle of September, with the general applause of the people, for the great prudence and conduct he had shewn in so nice and ticklish a conjuncture.

In the spring of the year 1701, his majesty was pleased to constitute Sir George Rook to be admiral and commander in chief; but the war against France not breaking out, on this side of Europe, till next year, there was no naval enterprize yet undertaken by him. In the mean time, King James II. dying at St. Germain, and the French owning his pretended son for king of England, chafed the people of England to a high degree; and his majesty, in this juncture of affairs, thinking fit to call a new parliament, Sir George Rook was again elected for Portsmouth; and the day of meeting, which was the thirtieth of December, being come, the commons were directed to go and chuse their speaker.

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The court were for Sir Thomas Littleton tooth and nail; and the king himself, with all just deference to his memory, interested himself in that election so openly, and to such a degree, that some of his best friends did not think well of it. The opposite party were entirely for Mr. Robert Harley's being speaker.

Now comes on Sir George's grand crime, and it was such a sin, in the eyes of some people, as the scripture declares shall never be forgiven. The brave gentleman having always the good of his country at heart, and, by reason of his long experience in maritime affairs, being the more willing and capable to deliver his mind upon this occasion, gave his opinion against Sir Thomas's being put into the chair; not out of any disrespect to the gentleman, whom he knew to be very capable of the great trust, but upon account of his being treasurer of the navy, which office required the utmost application and attendance in the war that was like to ensue; wherein, in all probability, he himself was to act a main part; as indeed it afterwards came to pass; but king William III. dying on the eighth of March, and queen Anne succeeding to the crown, things took another turn, and the clamours which had been begun to be raised against Sir George, for the present ceased; and her majesty, being most sensible of his great services and true merit, was pleased to confer, besides the command of the fleet, an  
addi-

additional honour and trust upon him, by appointing him vice-admiral and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom.

Being commander in chief with the duke of Ormond in the expedition against Cadiz, but that expedition failing, on the twenty-first of September, the admiral, coming home with the whole fleet, sent the *Eagle*, the *Sterling-castle*, and the *Pembroke*, with some transports, to water in Lagos-bay, where they arrived on the twenty second. The land-officers on board the *Pembroke* went immediately on shore, having with them Mr. Beauvoir, a gentleman of Jersey, chaplain of that ship; who there getting certain intelligence that the galleons and their convoy had put into Vigo, he acquainted captain Hardy with it, who, without delay, imparted the news to captain Wisnar, who commanded the *Eagle* and all the squadron: upon which information, a consultation of captains was immediately held; wherein it was resolved, that this intelligence was of that importance; that a ship should be sent to acquaint Sir George Rook with it; and, as captain Hardy had the best sailor, and was master of the intelligence, captain Wisnar ordered him to sail a-head to find out the fleet; which he happily effected on the sixth of October, when he acquainted Sir George Rook with the whole matter.

The admiral imparted the same immediately to the Dutch admiral, declaring it his opinion



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nion that they should all set sail directly for Vigo. The Dutch admiral readily concurred with Sir George, who the next day called a council of flag-officers; wherein it was resolved, That, as the attempting and destroying the French and Spanish ships at Vigo would be of great advantage to her majesty, and no less honourable to her and her allies, and tend, in a great measure, to reduce the exorbitant power of France, the fleet should make the best of their way to that port, and fall on immediately with the whole line, if there were room sufficient for it; otherwise to attack the enemy with such detachments as might render the enterprize most effectual and successful.

The French admiral, to do him justice, had taken all human precautions to secure his ships and the Spanish fleet; for he not only had carried them up beyond a very narrow strait, defended by a castle on the one side, and platforms on both sides of the strait, where he had planted his best guns, but had likewise laid athwart it a strong boom, made up of masts, yards, cables, top-chains, and casks, about twelve yards in circumference, and kept steady by anchors cast on both sides of it. \*

Our brave admiral, not at all discouraged with this, so soon as the confederate fleet came to an anchor, which was on the eleventh of October, before Vigo, as aforesaid, called a council of the sea and land general officers; wherein it was concluded, that, since the whole

whole fleet could not attempt the enemy's ships where they lay, without apparent danger of running foul one upon another, a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, with the line of battle, and all the fire-ships, should be sent in, with orders to use their best endeavours to take or destroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates and bomb-vessels should follow the rear of the detachment, and that the great ships should move after them, and go in, if there should be occasion, that the army should, at the same time, land and attack the fort on the south side of Rodendella, and thence proceed on where they might most effectually annoy the enemy; that, because it was not known what depth of water there might be, the attempt should be made with the smallest ships; and, that, to give the better countenance to the service, all the flag-officers should go in with the squadron.

For the better performance of these resolutions, the admiral, with great zeal and unwearyed vigilance, spent almost the whole night in going from ship to ship, in his own boat, to give the necessary directions, and to encourage both officers and seamen to discharge their duty.

The next day, about ten in the morning, the duke, having landed his men, and marching to attack the enemy by land, and at their platforms and forts, it was impossible the  
brave

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brave admiral could remain an idle spectator ; and therefore, as soon as the land forces were got on shore, he gave the signal to weigh ; which was accordingly done, the line formed, and the squad-on was briskly bearing up the boom ; but when the van was got within cannon shot of the batteries, it fell calm, so that they were constrained to come to an anchor again.

However, not a long time after, it blowing a fresh gale, vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, being next the enemy, cut immediately his cables, clapt on all his sails, and, bearing up directly upon the boom, amidst all the enemy's fire, broke through it at once, and cast anchor between the Bourbon and L'Esperance, two French men of war, which count Chateaurenau had placed near the boom, and with unparalelled resolution received several broadsides from them.

The rest of vice admiral Hopson's division, and vice-admiral Vandergoes, with his detachment, having weighed at the same time, sailed a breast towards the boom, to add the greater weight and force to the shock ; but being becalmed they all stuck, and were obliged to hack and cut their way through. A fresh gale blowing again, the Dutch admiral made so good use of it, that, having picked the passage which the brave Hopson had made, he boldly went in and made himself master of the Bourbon.

All

All this while, vice-admiral Hopson was in extreme danger; for, being clapped on board by a French fire ship, by which his rigging was presently set on fire, he expected every moment to be burned; but it fortunately happened that the French vessel, which was a merchantman laden with snuff, and made up in haste into a fire-ship, being blown up, the snuff partly extinguished the fire, and preserved him; however, he received considerable damage in this memorable action; for, besides the having his fore-top-mast shot by the board, one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned, and nine wounded, most of his sails were burned and scorched, his fore-yard burned to a coal, and his lar-board and shrouds fore and aft burned at the dead eyes, insomuch that he was forced afterwards to leave his own ship, and hoist his flag on board the Monmouth.

At the same time, captain Bucknam, in the Association, laid his broad side against a battery of seventeen guns on the other side of the harbour; so that, for a considerable time, there was a continual firing of great and small shot on both sides, till the French admiral, seeing the platform and forts in the hands of the victorious English, his fire-ship spent in vain, the Bourbon taken, the boom cut in pieces, and the confederate-fleet pouring in upon him, he set fire to his own ship, and ordered the rest of the captains under his com-

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mand to follow his example; yet he could not be so punctually obeyed but that several men of war and galleons were taken by the English and Dutch.

The admiral, on the seventeenth of November, arrived safely in the Downs, and soon after at London, laden with glory and the joyful applause of the people.

Her majesty having, in the mean time, thought fit to call a new parliament, to meet on the twentieth of October, Sir George was, during his absence, chosen again a member for Portsmouth; and having taken his place in the house, Mr. speaker, pursuant to the resolution of the house, in respect to the giving him their thanks for his service, delivered himself to him in this manner :

“ SIR GEORGE ROOK,

“ YOU are now returned to this house, after a most glorious expedition . Her majesty began her reign with a declaration, that her heart was truly English ; and Heaven hath made her triumph over the enemies of England : for this, thanks hath been returned in a most solemn manner to Almighty God.

“ There remains yet a debt of gratitude to those who have been the instruments of so wonderful a victory, the duke of Ormond, and yourself, who had the command of the sea and land-forces.

In

“ In former times, admirals and generals have had success against France and Spain separately ; but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over them confederated together : you have not only spoiled the enemy, but enriched your own country : common victories bring terror to the conquered ; but you brought destruction upon them, and additional strength to England. France hath endeavoured to support its ambition by the riches of India ; your success, Sir, hath only left them the burden of Spain, and stripped them of the assistance of it : the wealth of Spain, and ships of France, are, by this victory, brought over to our juster cause. This is an action so glorious in the performance, and so extensive in its consequence, that, as all times will preserve the memory of it, so every day will inform us of the benefit.

“ No doubt, Sir, but in France you are written ; in remarkable characters, in the black list of those who have taken French gold ; and it is justice done to the duke of Ormond and your merit, that you should stand recorded in the registers of this house, as the sole instrument of this glorious victory. Therefore this house came to the following resolution :

“ Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the thanks of this house be given to the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rook, for the great and signal service performed by the nation at sea and land , which thanks I now return you.”

To which Sir George Rook answered in the following terms :

“ MR. SPEAKER,

“ I am now under great difficulty how to express myself upon this very occasion. I think myself very happy, that, in zeal and duty to your service, it hath been my good fortune to be the instrument of that which may deserve your notice, and much more the return of your thanks. I am extremely sensible of this great honour, and shall take all the care I can to preserve it to the grave, and to convey it to my posterity without spot and blemish, by a constant affection and zealous perseverance in the queen's and your service. Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath virtue at his will; and, though I may not always be successful in your service, as upon this expedition, yet I may presume to assure you, I shall never be the more faulty.

“ I must repeat my inability to express myself upon this occasion; but, as I have a due sense of the honour this house hath been pleased to do me, I shall always retain a due and grateful memory of it; and, though my duty and allegiance are strong obligations upon me to do the best in the service of my country, yet I shall always take this to be a particular tie upon me to do right and justice to your service upon all occasions.”

On

On the thirteenth of November, Sir George was sworn of her majesty's most honourable privy-council. Sir George was very little at sea in 1703 ; he went out with a Squadron of men of war in the beginning of the summer ; and having cruised in the mean time off Belle-isle, he put the country into an unspeakable consternation ; and, after having taken many prizes coming home from the West-Indies, returned to St. Helens, that the grand fleet, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, might be the sooner ready to sail for the Streights, where they did nothing memorable ; so that Sir George was again appointed to command the fleet that was to carry the new king of Spain over to Portugal, then in alliance with us.

They encountered a most terrible storm in the beginning of the year, and were put back into the Channel ; however, they sailed again on the twelfth of February, and, by the twenty fifth, gained the rock of Lisbon. The admiral, on board of whom the king of Spain was, in the Royal Catharine, sailed up the river, being saluted by all the forts and castles with a triple discharge of the cannon, striking their flags three several times before the fort. The fleet anchored below Belem, a league short of the king's palace.

All things, by the twenty-seventh, being ready for the king of Spain's reception on shore, his majesty, on board the Royal Ca-



tharine, with the rest of the men of war, came up the river, and anchored over against the royal palace, the castles on both sides the river continually firing. Between four and five in the afternoon, the king of Portugal, accompanied by the two princes, his eldest sons, with several persons of the first quality, embarked on a very noble brigantine, rowed by forty men clad in crimson velvet, laced with silver, attended by the rest of the nobility, in barges and seluccas, and went on board the Royal Catharine.

When his majesty came by the ship's side he struck his flag; and when he came into the ship, Sir George Rook struck his flag, and let fly his streamer, and saluted him with twenty-five guns, which was taken by the whole fleet, and answered from on shore. His catholic majesty received the king of Portugal at the ladder-head, which, upon this occasion, was made very commodious, and waited on him to his cabin, giving him the right hand whilst he was in the ship. After a short stay there, the two kings went into the brigantine.

When they put off, both ships hoisted their flags, which had remained struck while the king of Portugal was on board the admiral, and Sir George gave two salutes of twenty-five guns each, which were followed by the rest of the fleet.

The king of Spain had the right hand on board the brigantine, and both kings landed under a triumphal arch, which was erected at the head of a very magnificent bridge built for this purpose, and adorned with several triumphal arches which, from the palace-gate, run a good way into the river. At their landing, the king of Portugal, giving the king of Spain the right, took him by the hand and led him out of the brigantine upon the stairs, and along the bridge to the palace; the nobility, and the rest of the retinue, marching in a great deal of order; and thus they proceeded to the royal chappel, where *Te Deum* was sung for his catholic majesty's safe arrival. Thence the king conducted him to his bed-chamber, and there took his leave of his catholic majesty; but returned soon after, accompanied by the two princes; and their majesties supped together in public.

But, not to digress too far, Sir George Rook, on the twenty eighth, sent rear-admiral Dilkes on shore to compliment the king of Portugal, to whom he was introduced by Mr. Methuen, her majesty's envoy-extraordinary, and was very kindly received: and, on the first of March, Sir George, and the rest of the officers of the fleet, introduced by the English envoy, waited upon the king of Portugal, who received them with great expressions of kindness.

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The next day, vice-admiral Lake, with a squadron of men of war and transports, having on board the remainder of the English and Dutch auxiliaries went up the river of Lisbon; so that all the ships did safely arrive there, not one ship, either of this squadron or the grand fleet having miscarried.

His catholic majesty was so well satisfied with Sir George's excellent conduct and deportment, that he presented him with a sword, the hilt of which was set with diamonds, a buckle for a hat-band, and a hook to cock up a bat, set with diamonds.

On the eleventh of May, the admiral sailed out of the river of Lisbon with the fleet under his command; and the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, with a body of land-troops, on board. They made the best of their way into the Mediterranean, and, on the eighteenth, appeared before Barcelona.

They had very well concerted their measures, nothing but the discovery of a design to give up the place to them a few hours before the landing of the troops, could have hindered them from being masters of that important city; so that the forces, to the number of two thousand five hundred men, returned on board again; to favour which, the admiral threw a few bombs into the place, having otherwise no design to injure it.

The admiral, about the beginning of June, put into the bay of Althea; to whom, on the seventh

seventh of June at night, the country inhabitants, giving an account that there was a report that some horse, and four hundred foot, were ready to fall upon our people and boats at the watering-place, it was immediately ordered to land a compleat number of marine-soldiers to support them.

Accordingly, on the eighth, in the morning, count Nugent, an officer under the prince of Hesse, brought an account to the admiral, having desired leave of him the night before to go on shore, as a volunteer, with the fore-said marines; and to whom Sir George had given direction, he knowing the language, to take order, with the advice of the country people, for the covering of our men at the watering-place.

His lordship had the opportunity, with the consent of the captain that commanded, to send a serjeant with ten men to fright the governor out of a strong tower standing near the sea-side, whereon was mounted one large brass gun, which there was no coming at without a ladder. The governor was the son of him that commanded the castle of the town; and the lord Nugent thinking, by this means, to render himself master of the fore-said castle by this same stratagem, brought his son before the gates, and urging the father with such threatnings, as are usual on such occasions, to surrender, his lordship's stratagem accordingly succeeded; or otherwise this castle, being very

strong, it would have taken up a great deal more time than the tarrying of one night to take it, and that without guns; so that his gates would not have been so easily opened: therefore, at last, the governor, hoping to save his honour, promised to surrender; but withal desired, that the troops should fire a volley of small shot, and that he would fire his guns, and so march out with his arms, and deliver up the castle; which was agreed to and performed whereupon Sir George commanded that the castle should be blown up.

On the ninth, the fleet passed Cape Palas, and so coming through the Straights of Lagos Bay, Sir Cloudefly Shovel joined them on the sixteenth with the re-inforcement from England, consisting of thirty-three ships of the line of battle.

On the seventeenth, the admiral called a council of war; and, by what could be understood, Sir George's new orders being to act in every undertaking in conformity with the ministry of the kings of Spain and Portugal, it was resolved to pass up the Straights again, and there expect what resolutions would be taken by the two kings; and to send away immediately an express by Lagos, to give them an account of the determination of the council of war; and how that, without a competent number of troops, to be put on board the fleet, no enterprize could be performed

formed with success on shore, the marines being part of the ship's complement, and could not be spared in that juncture, when the French fleet were hourly expected on them. However, their appearing again in the Straights would convince the French, that they were mistaken in their opinion of being masters of the seas; and would also encourage all those that were well inclined to the common cause.

The same day they continued to stand off and on from shore. Letwixt Lagos and Cape St. Mary's; and, on the eighteenth, two ships were sent to Lagos with that express, with orders to stay there, and bring orders back to Sir George at the appointed rendezvous near Tetuan; and four other ships were ordered to go to the heads of Tetuan, to convoy home the Portuguese fleet from Brazil. The Grafton and Kingston were also ordered for Tangier and to join the fleet as they passed by.

The fleet meeting with contrary winds, and having got, at last, by the seventeenth of July, about seven leagues to the eastward of Tetuan, a council of war was held on board the Royal Catharine, wherein it was resolved to make a sudden attempt upon Gibraltar. The fleet got into the Bay by the twenty-first, and the English and Dutch marines, to the number of one thousand eight hundred, were put on shore, with the prince of Hesse at the head of them, on the neck of land to the northward of the town, and the admiral, the next morn-

ing, gave orders, that the ships which he had appointed to cannonade the place, under the command of rear-admiral Byng, and rear-admiral Vanderdusen, as also those which were to batter the south mole-head, commanded by captain Hicks in the Yarmouth, should range themselves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not possibly get to their stations till the day was spent.

In the mean while, to amuse the enemy, the admiral sent captain Whitaker in with some boats, who burned a French privateer of twelve guns at the old mole; but the ships being all placed, on the twenty-third, soon after day-break, the admiral gave the signal for the beginning of the cannonade; which was performed with great fury, about fifteen thousand shot being made in five or six hours against the town; insomuch that the enemy were soon beat from their guns, especially at the south mole head; whereupon the admiral, considering that, by gaining that fortification, they should of consequence reduce the town, he ordered captain Whitaker, with all the boats armed, to endeavour to possess himself of it; which he performed with great expedition: but captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who lay next the mole, had pushed on shore with their pinnaces and some other boats before the enemy could come up. The enemy thereupon sprung a mine that blew up the fortifications on the mole, killed two lieutenants and about  
forty

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forty men, and wounded about sixty: however, our brave seamen kept possession of the platform, which they had made themselves masters of; and captain Whitaker landing with the rest of the seamen which the admiral had ordered for this service, they advanced and took a redoubt half way between the mole and the town, and possessed themselves of many of the enemy's cannon.

The admiral hereupon sent a letter to the governor, and at the same time a message to the prince of Hesse, to send him a peremptory summons; upon which the town capitulated and surrendered on the twenty-fourth, and the garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and three pieces of brass cannon. The inhabitants were to have the same privileges as in the reign of king Charles II. but all the French and subjects of France, were excluded from any part of the capitulation.

It is agreed on all hands, that the town was extremely strong, and had an hundred guns mounted, all facing the sea and the two narrow passages to the land; and was well supplied with ammunition; and no body but our brave sea men, under the prudent direction of such an admiral, could have mastered it, since fifty men might have defended those works against thousands.

It is to Sir George Rook and his Tritons, that we are beholden for our first footing in Spain,



Spain, and for laying the foundation of our subsequent advantages in that kingdom, let the malice of invidious and unreasonable men suggest what it will to the contrary.

We will now come to the particulars of the terrible sea-fight that happened about a month after this glorious conquest, between Sir George and the admiral of France, about twelve leagues off of Malaga.

On the ninth of August, the admiral, returning from watering the fleet on the coast of Barbary, to Gibraltar, with little wind easterly, his scouts to the windward made the signals of seeing the enemy's fleet; which, according to the account they gave, consisted of sixty-six sail, and were about ten leagues to the windward of him. A council of flag-officers was called, wherein it was determined to lay to the eastward of Gibraltar to receive and engage them; but perceiving that night, by the report of their signal-guns, that they wrought from him, he followed them in the morning with all the sail he could make.

On the eleventh, he forced one of the enemy's ships a-shore near Fuengorolo. The crew quitted her, set her on fire, and she blew up immediately. He continued still pursuing them; and, on the twelfth, not hearing any of their guns at night, nor seeing any of their scouts in the morning, the admiral had a jealousy they might make a double, and, by the help of their gallees, slip between him and the shore

shore to the westward; so that he called a council of war; wherein it was resolved, That, in case he did not see the enemy before night, they should make the best of their way to Gibraltar: but standing into the shore about noon, they discovered the enemy's fleet and gallies to the westward, near Cape Malaga, going away large. He immediately made all the sail he could after them, and continued the chase all night.

On Sunday, the thirteenth, in the morning, he was within three leagues of the enemy, who brought to with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, formed their line, and lay to receive him. Their line consisted of fifty-two ships, and twenty-four gallies; they were very strong in the centre, and weaker in the van and rear; to supply which, most of their gallies were divided into those quarters. In the centre was Monsieur de Thoulouse with the white squadron; in the van, the white and blue; and in the rear the blue: each admiral had his vice and rear-admiral.

Our line consisted of fifty-three ships, the admirals Byng's and Dilk's being in the centre; Sir Cloudesly Shovel and Sir John Leak led the van, and the Dutch the rear. The admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, with the Lark and Newport, and two fire-ships, to lie to the windward of them, that, in case the enemy's van should push through our lines with  
their

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their gallies and fireships, they might give them some diversion.

They bore down upon the enemy in order of battle, a little after ten o'clock, when, being about half gun-shot from them, they set all their sails at once, and seemed to intend to stretch a-head and weather them; so that the admiral, after firing a chase-gun at the French admiral to stay for him, of which he took no notice, put the signal out, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the Royal Catharine, the St. George, and the Shrewsbury,

About two in the afternoon, the enemy's van gave way to our's, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night, the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward; which gave the enemy the wind of us. They lay by all day within three leagues of one another, repairing their defects; and at night they filed and stood to the northward.

On the fifteenth, in the morning, the enemy was got four or five leagues to the windward of our fleet; but a little before noon we had a breeze of wind easterly with which the admiral bore down on them till four o'clock in the afternoon; but being too late to engage, they brought to, and lay with their heads to the northward all night.

On the sixteenth, in the morning, the wind being full easterly, hazy weather, and having

no sight of the enemy or their scouts, they filed and bore away to the westward, supposing they would have gone away for Cadiz; but, being advised from Gibraltar, and the coast of Barbary, that they did not pass the Streights, our admiral concluded they had been so severely treated, as to oblige them to return to Thoulon.

The admiral said, he must do the officers the justice to say, That every man in the line did his duty, without the least umbrage for censure or reflection; and that he never observed the true English spirit so apparent and prevalent in our seamen as on this occasion.

This battle was so much the more glorious to her majesty's arms, because the enemy had a superiority of six hundred great guns, and likewise the advantage of cleaner ships, being lately come out of port; not to mention the great use of their gallies in towing on or off their great ships, and in supplying them with fresh men as often as they had any killed or disabled. But all these disadvantages were surmounted by the prudence and good conduct of the admiral, his officers, and the undaunted courage of our sea-men.

Of the English, there were one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-two wounded; and six hundred and eighty-seven slain; besides thirty-one officers wounded, and eight slain; in all, killed and wounded, two thousand, three hundred, and fifty-eight. The chief officers killed were Sir Andrew Lake and captain Cow. This

This done, and the admiral having left two thousand English marines in Gibraltar, with a sufficient quantity of stores and provisions, and forty-eight guns, besides one hundred that were in the town before, and the season of the year being far advanced, he returned home with the great ships, and was very favourably received by her majesty, and his royal highness the lord-high-admiral; and the queen was congratulated by the house of commons upon the victory obtained by her fleet under the command, and by the courage and conduct, of Sir George Rook

But, notwithstanding all this, there were found to be some people so wicked, partial, and malevolent, that nothing bad enough could be said by them of the admiral's conduct and enterprizes. Some of those pretend an high esteem and value for Sir Cloudesly Shovel if therefore they are willing to take his word for Sir George, he says, The engagement was very sharp, and he thought the like between two fleets had never been at any time; that a great many of the ships had suffered much, but none more than Sir George Rook and captain Jennings in the *St. George*. And as for the Dutch, who were never backward to complain, if they thought any of our admirals tardy in their duty, admiral Calenberg, upon this occasion, wrote to the states, That, in a council of war, called by Sir George the day after the fight, it appeared, that admiral Rook, with the centre, had been engaged

engaged in a very sharp fight ; and that her majesty's ships of the said admiral's division had likewise spent the greatest part of their powder and shot ; so that they had not above ten rounds left, which would not serve above an hour's fight.

The reverend Dr. Stanhope, in his thanksgiving-sermon before her majesty at St. Paul's on the twenty-seventh of June, 1706, very justly says of the taking of Gibraltar, and of this sea-fight, That we were soon instructed in the mighty concernment of the first, by the seasonable refreshments our fleets found there, after a battle fought, on our side, with great inequality of force, but with what resolution and success, we need no other evidences than the disability of making any formidable figure at sea, which the French have manifestly lain under ever since.

The Whigs, who had now entirely engrossed the management of affairs, were extremely alarmed ; and they took so much pains to hinder Sir George from receiving the compliments usual upon such successes, that it became visible he must either give way, or a change very speedily happen in the administration. Therefore, that the affairs of the nation might not receive any obstruction or disturbance upon his account, he resolved to retire from public business ; and passed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, and for the most part at his seat in Kent. A private seal was offered him

him for passing his accounts; but he refused it, and made them up in the ordinary way, with all the exactness imaginable.

The gout, which had, for many years, greatly afflicted him, brought him at last to his grave. He died, on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1708-9, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

He was thrice married; first, to a daughter of Sir Thomas Howe, of Cold-Berwick, in Wiltshire, baronet; next, to a daughter of colonel Francis Lutterell, of Dunster castle, in Somersetshire, who died in child bed of her first child, George Rook, esq. the sole heir of his father's fortune; lastly, to a daughter of Sir — Knatchbull, of Mersham Hatch, in Kent, baronet.

Sir George's zeal for the church, and his adherence to that sort of men who, in his time, were known by that ever mutable and varying name of Tories, made him the darling of one party, and exposed him no less to the aversion of the other. This is the cause that an historian finds it difficult to obtain his true character from the writings of those who flourished in the same periods of time. The ingenious and impartial Dr. Campbell, in his *Lives of the Admirals*, infinitely the best naval history extant, has drawn so masterly and just a character of him, that we cannot more properly conclude his life than with a transcript of it.

“ He

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“ He was certainly an officer of great merit, if either conduct or courage could entitle him to that character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Irish station, in his wise and prudent management when he preserved so great a part of the Smyrna fleet, and particularly in the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in less than a week. Of his courage he gave abundant testimonies, especially in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and in the battle of Malaga, where he behaved with all the resolution of a British admiral ; and, as he was first in command, was first also in danger. In party-matters he was perhaps too warm and eager ; for all men have their failings, even the greatest and best ; but in action he was perfectly cool and temperate ; gave his orders with the utmost serenity ; and, as he was careful in marking the conduct of his officers, so his candour and justice were always conspicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his superiors ; he there knew no party, no private considerations, but commended merit when ever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occasions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle ; and, though he was more than once called to the bar of the house of commons, yet he always escaped censure ; as he likewise did before the lords ; not by shifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying



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plying with the temper of the times; but by maintaining steadily what he thought right, and speaking his sentiments with that freedom which becomes an Englishman, whenever his conduct in his country's service is brought in question. In a word, he was equally superior to popular clamour and popular applause; but, above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign interests when incompatible with our own; and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great but by performing such actions as deserved it. In his private life, he was a good husband and kind master; lived hospitably towards his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune; so moderate, that, when he came to make his will, it surprised those who were present; but Sir George assigned the reason in a few words. 'I do not leave much,' said he, 'but what I leave was honestly gotten; it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing.'

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

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